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THE INFLUENCE OF EXILE
AND FOREIGN TRAVEL UPON
THE CAVALIER POETS, COWLEY,
D'AVENANT, DENHAM, AND
WALLER



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THE INFLUENCE OF EXILE AND FOREIGN TRAVEL UPON THE
CAVALIER POETS, COWLEY, D'AVENANT,
DENHAM, AND WALLER

BY

WILLIAM CHILTON TROUTMAN
A. B. University of Illinois, 1917

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH

IN

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

OF THE

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

1918

1918
T75

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

May 31 1918

4 Nov. 1918

I HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE THESIS PREPARED UNDER MY
SUPERVISION BY William Chilton Troutman
ENTITLED The Influence of Exile and Foreign Travel
upon the Cavalier Poets, Cowley, D'Avenant, Denham, & Waller
BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING THIS PART OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
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Final Examination*

*Required for doctor's degree but not for master's

100212

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION: THE PROBLEM STATED.

The period of English History from about 1630 to 1660 was one of the most exciting in the country's development. It was a period in which Charles I., opposed by a Sectarian Parliament and other factional interests, sought to develop his own royal prerogative at the expense of his country's rights. Failing in this, he took up the sword against his opponents, only to be defeated and ultimately executed with great injustice. It was also the period of the Commonwealth in which Cromwell at its inception promised great personal freedom to the country, but at last was driven, for his own safety, as well as that of the nation, to assume all of the odious prerogatives of kingship.

In the midst of these well known historical circumstances moved the Cavalier poets, Cowley, Denham, D'Avenant, and Waller. Their relation to these events, I shall show with as much precision as the extant sources of information may permit. In the gloomy days of the 1650's, when many of the adherents of the Stuarts were discouraged at the seeming impossibility of ever being able to recoup what had been lost during the cyclonic regime of the Commonwealth, these poets were intriguing in various ways to bring about a reversal of the royal fortunes. In every way, they supported the royal cause with untiring devotion. They were as much men of affairs as poets. Waller was a successful politician; Cowley an ingenious cipher secretary and diplomat;

Denham and D'Avenant, shrewd spies and messengers.

There were, also, other poets who adhered to the royal cause; but several of them, such as Suckling, Lovelace, and Godolphin died at the beginning of the Civil war, so that their activity was confined to a period in which the subsequent herculean struggles had scarcely begun. For this reason, the cavalier poets of the late 1630s have been omitted.

Some other names, such as those of Thomas Killigrew, Richard Fanshawe, James Shirley, and Richard Crashaw (all of whom were exiles at the same time as D'Avenant and his compatriots), have also been omitted. The first three are not discussed because of their unimportance. Crashaw, though important, has been merely mentioned, since the knowledge of his activities in this period is so fragmentary; in addition, he seems to have been rather unresponsive to the passing events about him, no doubt because of his emotional struggle in the search for a religion which would satisfy his soul.

In a subject such as this about men of such prominence, one must suppose that so well known an aspect of their lives as the foreign travels and exile, had already been extensively treated. Quite the contrary is true. In all cases, the rest of the lives of these poets has been well outlined in "The Dictionary of National Biography", but their periods of foreign travel have been given in the briefest fashion with but little illustration from contemporaneous accounts. In so excellent a work as Charlanne's "L'Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII^e Siècle", one paragraph sketches these events.¹ Edmund Gosse in his book, "From

1. Louis Charlanne, "L'Influence Française", Introduction, p. XVII.

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Shakespeare to Pope", has treated the travel of these poets in a very good chapter called "The Exiles"¹; but this, though well done, is rather brief. The separate biographies of these poets are particularly good, especially that of D'Avenant in Maidment and Logan's edition of D'Avenant's Dramatic works; of Cowley in Alexander Grosart's introduction to the poet's complete works; and of Waller in volume one of the edition of his works in the "Muses Library". Yet, in most of these cases, though the specific events that are known of the poet's foreign travels and exile are mentioned, the events are considered as a small part of a complete whole. Although much that is incorporated in this thesis will have been known before, I hope by throwing the searchlight of investigation upon the past lives and writings of the poets' contemporaries to present the facts with a greater fullness and precision of detail.

Among the firsthand sources which I have used more extensively than common are the "Collection of State Papers: Domestic Series", the "Nicholas Papers", "The Letters of Charles I and Henrietta Maria", and the "State Papers" of John Thurloe. From these sources, and those which are generally known, I have extracted every allusion of real importance to the poets' activities in exile. I joined these fragments to one another in chronological order. By such an arrangement, I have been able to reveal the minor, but interesting, events of their lives abroad, as well as the commonly known major facts. For this reason, one will find a multiplicity of direct extracts from diaries, correspondence of

1. Edmund Gosse, "From Shakespeare to Pope," pp.81-114.

various kinds, and government documents included in the thesis, perhaps to a greater extent than is usual.

The influence of French literature upon the Cavalier poets during their exile has been omitted. It has already been treated in Charlanne's "L'Influence Française en Angleterre au XVII^e Siècle", and in Horatio Upham's "The French Influence in English Literature".

In my bibliography will be found most of the material included in the "Dictionary of National Biography" and "Cambridge History of English Literature", but not all. In some cases, books listed in the two former works were inaccessible; whenever this was true, a work of practically similar value has been accessible to me. This was the case in the study of Waller, whose first life (1711) by Stockdale was not at hand, but by using the "Biographia Britannica", which is based upon this first life, all of the salient parts of the earlier record were laid under contribution. In all other cases, the important sources were used. My bibliography differs from the two preceding in the greater number of valuable historical sources which it contains, such as the various collections of State Papers, contemporaneous letters, and public documents in the Camden Society Publications, as well as the accounts by such important men of the time as Edward Hyde, Bishop Burnet, Bulstrode Whitelocke, and others of lesser name. These historical materials, though ordinarily not included in an English thesis, are helpful, because of the back ground which they furnish for practically all of the poets' exile, and pre-exile experiences. They also contain many brief allusions to the poets, which, though in most cases relatively unimportant, are interesting and, in some cases, illuminating sidelights on their person-

alities.

In the development of the subject, the following problems are treated:- (A) the extent to which these four poets participated in the military and political activities preceding their exile; (B) the causes of their exile; (C) their activities while in banishment; (D) their experiences in travel and banishment as shown in their writings; (E) the changes in their thoughts, feelings, outlook on life, or loyalty to the royal cause, directly attributable to the vicissitudes and sufferings of their life abroad.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY LIVES OF THE CAVALIER POETS,
COWLEY, D'AVENANT, DENHAM, AND WALLER AS RELATED TO
THE ROYAL CAUSE. CONDITIONS CULMINATING IN THEIR
BANISHMENT.

The early lives of the Cavalier poets were closely connected with the political and military events of Charles I's reign. These men secured this political prominence through certain traits of character, which gained them favor with the Stuart party. The early pre-exile elements of their characters were also important in motivating much of their foreign activity, for the same similarities and contrasts of personality, though much less evident in the earlier period, were nevertheless as apparent as when later brought more obviously into view by the stimulations of experiences in Europe.

Of the entire group, the personality and character of Cowley are outstandingly admirable. He was a man of precocious intellectual powers and marked versatility, capable of doing well anything to which he set his hand. Among his contemporaries, he was very popular, because of his extensive mental attainments and poetic ability. He was a placid, keen witted, sane minded man, vitally interested in the events of his day, who, in spite of his marked brilliancy and unusual cleverness, was also a man of great practical worth. To these innate excellencies of character, and not to any recommendations of a noble family, may be attribut-

ed his rapid rise into prominent royalist circles. As compared with him, D'Avenant was in several respects almost similar. Both were alike in being untrammelled by noble birth. Both were brilliant, ambitious, and eagerly energetic. Both were born poets, Cowley tending toward lyric expression and D'Avenant toward dramatic; Cowley, in this respect, was superior to D'Avenant. For the same reason as Cowley, D'Avenant owed his entire rise to fame to his inherent capability and literary genius; but since his character was more stable and less ostentatious than that of the former, he was more willing to gain fame by degrees. His character was also more to be commended in that, to reach the place of importance which he did, he was compelled to endure repeated sufferings in the form of imprisonments, which did not swerve him in the least from his loyalty. These same steadfast and determined qualities re-appeared throughout his entire life. Contrasted with both Cowley and D'Avenant, who rose into prominence in spite of their handicaps, is the character of John Denham. Unlike the others, he secured a claim on attention partially through the reputation and support of a noble family more than to his own merits. Even with this valuable support, he at no time became so prominent as either Cowley or D'Avenant, not being on a par with them intellectually. As his subsequent life showed, his was a stable, genial, thoroughly commendable type of character, with nothing particularly clever, or unusual, to separate it from that of other men of the time. Though held in high esteem for his sterling personal qualities, he was never considered by his contemporaries as a man who would later become a prominent figure. In this latter respect, he differed from both Cowley and D'Avenant, whose personal charact-

eristics, indicative of their future success, were early recognized. Not until the appearance of his play, "The Sophy", and his clever satires, was he considered as a man of unusual ability. After this, as with the two former poets, assisted by the genial, affable, whole souled traits of his character, seconded by his acknowledged literary talent, he soon gained public attention, ultimately becoming almost as important in royalist circles as the other two poets. In totally striking contrast to Cowley, D'Avenant, and Denham, is the character of Waller. Unlike Cowley, he was but mediocre intellectually; compared with D'Avenant, he was much shallower and less able to bear a stiff front in the presence of unpleasantness and suffering; like Denham, he had certain affable traits, not those of the commendable type, but rather of the obsequious, time serving kind. He was an idle, fickle man, whose sole aim in life was to have pleasure amidst the applause and adulation of the crowd. His life was lived as it would affect others; his acts were those which others of higher rank than himself would approve. In all cases, he wished to run no risks of ill fortune. The party most likely to be supreme was the one for him. For this reason, because of his uncertainty as to which of the two parties, Royalist or Puritan, would win, he continually vacillated, now favoring one, now the other. After deciding that the Royalists would probably be victorious, in typically turncoat fashion, he began to seek their attention by planning a revolt in the King's favor. In this way, unlike the three preceding poets, he gained his importance in the Stuart party, because of no excellent qualities, but rather because of certain despicable traits of his character, which throughout his entire life he never hesitated

to show boldly.

Tracing these relations between the characters of the poets, Cowley, D'Avenant, Denham, and Waller, and the manner and rapidity with which they became vitally associated with the Stuart cause, we find that the specific events of their lives show the same general relationships and contrasts of their personalities.

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

In every event of Cowley's pre-exile life, there is evidence substantiating the assertion that his promotion was in all cases due to his innate cleverness and worth. Springing from a middle class family, his father, being a grocer, Cowley received the usual education of a youth of that day at Westminster school, where, even thus early, he showed his great intellectual ability. On June 14, 1637, he entered Trinity College, Cambridge, where he studied with as brilliant success as before. While in this college, he first came into active contact with the cause for which he later gave so large a part of his life. This was brought about by his elegy, "On the death of Mr. Harvey", which so recommended him to Harvey's brother that the latter secured him service with the Earl of St. Albans.¹ It is also said that he may have gained his employment in the royal cause after he had gone to France; this account attributes to Stephen Goffe his introduction

1. Thomas Sprat, "Life of Cowley." Ed. 1684. p. IV.

to the Earl of St. Albans, for whom he worked so constantly while
in exile.¹

While at Cambridge, Cowley first met Prince Charles, later King Charles II. In 1641, the prince passed through Cambridge. As a portion of the entertainment for the royal party, Cowley wrote a comedy, "The Guardian", which was performed March 12, 1641.² This comedy was later recast after the Restoration as "The Cutter of Coleman Street"; and, as will be shown later, was one of the causes why Cowley in the "rain of manna" (1660) was neglected. Even in this early production of "the Guardian", Cowley's budding Royalist sympathies and particularly his disrespect for the constantly encroaching Puritan party appear. His prologue to the play in several respects indicates the trend of his political interests. He says:

"But our scene's London now, and by the rout
We perish if the Roundheads be about:
For now no ornament the head must wear,³
No Bays, no mitre, not so much as Hair!"

Yet farther on in the same prologue, he shows similar disregard for the Puritan party:

"Though other arts poor and neglected grow,
They'll admit poetry, which was always so.
Besides, the muses of late times have been
Sanctifi'd by the verse of Master Prin,
But we condemn the fury of these days
And scorn as much their censure as their praise".⁴

1. Anthony A. Wood, "Fasti Oxonienses." Ed. 1820. Vol. IV, p. 210.

2. "Dictionary of National Biography." Vol. IV, p. 1305.

3. Abraham Cowley, "Complete Works." Ed. A. B. Grosart. 1881. Vol. I, p. 206.

4. Ibid, p. 206.

After expressing such sentiments, Cowley was in disfavor among the Puritans. In (1643-4), he was ejected from Cambridge by the parliamentary party, at least according to the statement of Anthony Wood, who attributes his expulsion to his satire, "The Puritan and the Papist." On the other hand, he may have withdrawn because of a patriotic desire to support the king at Oxford.²

At this time, the relations between King Charles I and the "Long Parliament" had become so strained that both were preparing for war; the parliamentarians centered their activity in London, while the king used Oxford as a rallying point.

While allied with the king's party, Cowley issued the satire, previously mentioned, "The Puritan and the Papist" (1643-44), against the Puritan religion. So vigorous was the denunciation of this tract, that it alone was sufficient to sever its author definitely from all possibility of future amelioration of hardships during the ascendancy of the Roundheads. In this vitriolic poem, the Papists and the Puritans are compared in religious beliefs, and, antagonistic as the royalists were to both groups, the Puritans were hated so much more than the Papists that the latter come out of this word arraignment with their self respect somewhat rumpled, but not so completely disheveled and tattered as that of the religiously self satisfied Puritans. Upon reading such audacious sentiments as the following, concerning a group soon to be the dominant faction, and coupling these with the stinging thrusts pre-

1. Anthony Wood, "Fasti" Ed. 1820. Vol. IV, Col. 210.

2. Thomas Sprat, "Life of Cowley," Ed. 1684. p. IV.

viously quoted, one does not wonder at the eagerness with which later, the intrepid author of these opinions sought the more congenial climate of France. Comparing the unscrupulous character of both Puritans and Papists, Cowley impudently remarks:

"The Roman Catholic to advance the cause
Allows a lye, and calls it *pla fraus*.
The Puritan approves, and does the same,
Dislikes nought in it but the Latin name.
He flows with his devises, and dares lye
In very deed, in truth, and verity.
He whines, and signs out lies with so much ruth
As if he grieved, 'cause he could ne'er speak truth."¹

Nor can I imagine the stolid Puritan with his rather attenuated sense of humor enjoying this:

"They (the Papists), in a forraign and unknown tongue
pray,
You in an unknown sence your prayers say:
So that this difference 'twixt ye does ensue,
Fools understand not them, not wise men you."²

"They keep the people, ignorant, and you
Keep both the people and yourselves so too,
They blind obedience and blind duty teach,
You blind rebellion and blind faction preach."³

One can quite candidly say that these clever remarks were scarcely such as would secure favor or serve to extinguish fires already furiously raging. So when the necessity for flight was at hand, Cowley with admirable intuition was in the vanguard of "fliers".

Concerning Cowley's further activities at Oxford in the interest of the royal cause, little seems to be known, except that he made friendships with prominent men, particularly Lord Folkland,

1. Abraham Cowley, "Complete Works." Ed. 1881. Vol. 1, pp. CXXIII-CXXIV.

2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. CXXIV.

3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. CXXIV.

and that he was not "wanting to his duty in the war itself, for he was present and in service in several of the King's journeys and expeditions. By these occasions and the report of his high deserts, he speedily grew familiar to the chief men of the court and the gown."¹

In the meantime, conditions grew worse for the royalists. Early military successes, such as at Edgehill,, were no longer commonly expected, but now,owing to the invincible character of Cromwell and his scrupulously selected company of "Ironsides", former Royalist victories were turned into defeats. Adherents to the cause saw the desperate character of their situation and particularly the diminishing possibilities for success on the Royalist side, so they fled to France and Holland. In 1646, the Queen, Henrietta Maria, accompanied by Cowley, sailed for France. Sprat, without elaborating the cause of the poet's departure, briefly says that "during the heat of the Civil war, he was settled in My Lord St. Alban's family, and attended her Majesty the Queen-mother, when by the unjust persecution of her subjects, she was forc'd to retire into France"².

Cowley in his essay, "Of Myself", summarizes the period preceding his exile as follows:- "With these affections of mind, and my heart wholly set upon letters, I went to the University; but was soon torn from thence by that violent publick storm which would suffer nothing to stand where it did, but rooted up every plant, even from the Princely cedars to me the Hyssop. Yet I had

1. Thomas Sprat, "Life of Cowley." Ed. 1684, page IV.

2. Ibid. p. V.

as good fortune as could have befallen me in such a tempest; for I was cast by it into the family of one of the best persons, and into the court of one of the best princesses in the world."¹

SIR WILLIAM D'AVENANT

The pre-exile life of D'Avenant is in many ways like that of Cowley. In both lives, similar traits of character were displayed, although to a lesser degree in D'Avenant. Both owed their success as royalists to inherent mental ability, as well as to the ingratiating elements of their personalities. Their advancement came through their own energy and for no other reason. Between the two, there was, however, one marked contrast. The career of Cowley was much more meteoric than D'Avenant's. Though the rise of the latter was less brilliant, it was, in a way, more admirable. To D'Avenant, rewards came usually as the result of his consistent labor; while those of Cowley came not so much because of hard work as precocious genius. In all cases, D'Avenant seemed to be a man capable of greater determination and fortitude in the presence of adversity than Cowley. Subsequent events of their lives proved this to be true. Though D'Avenant's character is less attractive than that of Cowley, it appears as dependable and as admirable. Throughout the events of their pre-exile periods, these differences of developments, in relation to their personalities

1. Abraham Cowley, "Works." A.B., Grosart Ed. 1881. Vol. II, p. 340.

are evident; whereas Cowley, by clearly apparent intellectuality and energy, sprang into prominence, D'Avenant, in a more normal fashion, with less mental ability but greater persistency of purpose, secured almost the same degree of recognition.

D'Avenant's early life is but little different from that of Cowley, for, after the usual elementary school training, which he secured with much less distinction than his fellow poet (acquiring, as he did, but "some smattering of logic"), he went to Oxford. While there, he formed his purpose of acquiring fame. That this was a definite aim of D'Avenant is pointed out by the writer of his life in the "The Biographia Britannica", who says, "he quitted the seat of the Muses, in hopes of making his fortune at court."¹ He first became associated with court life as a page to the Duchess of Richmond and later as a member of the household of Sir Fulke Greville.² After Greville's murder (1628), D'Avenant spent his time composing plays and verses, which won him the warm friendship of Endymion Porter and Henry Jermy, Earl of St. Albans.³ His popularity as a writer became so great, that on December 13, 1638, he was appointed Poet Laureate. June 27, 1639, he received even greater royal recognition by being made "governor of the King and Queen's company acting at the Cockpit in Drury Lane."⁴

1. "Biographia Britannica." London, 1750. Vol. III, p. 1602.

2. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. I, p. 205.

3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 205.

4. Edmund Malone, "Historical account of the English Stage" in "Malone's Shakespeare". 1790. Vol. I, pt. 2. pp. 237-238.

In fact, much of the poet's subsequent unpopularity with the Puritans may be attributed to these dramatic activities, for, when the civil wars had started, it was to the advantage of the Puritans to attack the amusements of the royalists, as well as those who had directed the entertainments. So D'Avenant" who had administered so copiously to the pleasures of the court, was very soon brought under suspicions of a more serious kind."¹

These suspicions of a "more serious kind" inextricably involved D'Avenant in the fortunes of the king's cause and ultimately made it necessary for him to retire to the continent. D'Avenant, Henry Jermyn, Sir John Suckling, and Henry, Lord Percy of Alnwicks, were accused of a plot against Parliament, in which they were suspected of intriguing with the army, which they desired to secure "for the defence of the King's person."² When the plot³ was discovered, Sir Henry Vane, in a letter to Sir Thomas Roe, May 7, 1641, said, "We had here on Wednesday last, upon a summons from the House of Commons, Mr. Percy, Henry Jermyn, Sir John Suckling, Wm. D'Avenant, the poet, and the Earl of Carnarvon, who have chosen rather than appear, to quit their country and are gone to France or Holland. . . . It is strangely thought on this their so sudden flight, and they are esteemed much more culpable than I

1. Alexander Chalmers, "Life of D'Avenant", in "The Works of the English Poets". London, 1810. Vol. VI, p. 342.

2. "Biographia Britanica" Vol. III, p. 1604.

3. In the "Prefatory Memoir" in the Maidment and Logan edition of D'Avenant's Dramatic works, the editors express the opinion that this plot was fomented by Parliament in order to arouse popular sentiment against all amusements, and that D'Avenant, being a promoter of entertainments, was naturally one of the first to be brought into disrepute. Vol. I, p. XXXVII.

hope they are."¹ Sir William Uvedale, in a letter, May 11, 1641, to Matthew Bradley, speaks of the cause of their flight in the following manner, "what the occasion is does not yet clearly appear, but it is thought for some practices with the army and some other design. . . ."² In seeking to reach the continent, D'Avenant was so unfortunate as to be the sole member of his party captured; he was taken into custody at Feversham in Kent. That the danger to which the poet was exposed at this time by his royalist sympathies was serious, one may judge by the statement of a contemporary, Thomas Smith, writing to Sir John Penington, June 29, 1641: " 'Tis thought Jermyn, Suckling, and D'Avenant will be judged guilty of death".³ In July, the poet was bailed out of prison and once more sought to reach France. Again he was unfortunate, this time being apprehended by the Mayor of Canterbury.⁴ How he escaped these last entanglements, history does not tell.

SIR JOHN DENHAM

Between the life and character of Denham and those of Cowley and D'Avenant, the similarities are few, and the contrasts are many.. In general, all three poets were alike in their interest

1. "Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series"(1640-41). Vol. XVII, p. 571.

2. "Calendar of State Papers": Domestic Series" (1640-1641). Vol. XVII, p. 574.

3. "Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series" (1641-1643). Vol. XVIII, p. 29.

4. Anthony Wood, "Athenae Oxonienses," Vol. III, Col. 804.

in the cause of the Stuarts. All three, so far as their ability permitted, engaged in various kinds of labor for their royal leaders. Notwithstanding these fundamental similarities of interests, the contrasts between their characters and their activities are evident. Whereas Cowley and D'Avenant, ambitious for promotion, have been shown largely striving to become well known when very young, Denham never sought prominence, until he was thirty years old. Nor was his appearance then as significant as that of the other two, for, at no time, was he so intimately related to the direct management of events as they. At no time, did he occupy the same prominent managerial position as Cowley and D'Avenant in Stuart affairs; he merely did those things which a dependable royalist of prominent family, but mediocre talent, could be relied upon to do well. Never in his career, did he manifest the intellectual fire or vigorous energy of a Cowley or a D'Avenant. He was always the polished, easy going, affable royalist with a joke on his tongue and a laugh in his eye.

Denham's early participation in the Royal cause may be easily explained. He was descended from a family of royal blood, his mother being a daughter of Sir Garret More, a Baron of Mellefont, Ireland, his father being Sir John Denham, formerly Chief Baron of the Exchequer in England.¹

In 1631, he went to Oxford, where he remained until 1634. He then went to London and entered Lincoln's Inn, where he divided

1. "Dictionary of National Biography." Vol. V, p. 796.

his time "between law and poetry."¹ In 1640 appeared his play, "The Sophy", in which Waller said, "he broke out like the Irish Rebellion - threescore thousand strong, before anybody was aware."² This play "seems to have given him his first hold of the public attention."³

In the early military struggles of the Civil War, Denham assisted the royalists as governor of Farnham Castle, which he soon gave up, because "he was but a young soldier."⁴

In addition to these active participations in the King's cause, Denham, at the same time, made himself unpopular among the Puritans by his verse satires. The dates of these satires are unknown, but, no doubt, "a Speech Against Peace at the Close Committee" and "To the Five Members of the Honorable House of Commons" are representative of the groups. He satirizes the Puritan attitude as follows:

"Then let us stay and fight, and vote,
Till London is not worth a groat;
Ch 'tis a patient beast!
When we have gall'd and tyr'd the mule,
And can no longer have the rule,
We'll have the spoil at least."⁵

In "The Humble Petition of the Poets", stinging blows of a similar character are dealt on the upholders of the "cause". Denham in the poem asks Parliament for certain privileges as a poet. He says:

1. Samuel Johnson, "Lives of the Poets." 1905. Vol. I, p. 71
2. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. I, p. 217.
3. Samuel Johnson, "Lives of the Poets." Vol. I, p. 71.
4. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. I, p. 218.
5. John Denham, "Works: A Speech Against Peace at the Close Committee." 1684. p. 101.

"But for lying (the most noble part of a poet)
 You have it abundantly, and yourselves know it;
 And though you are modest, and seem to abhor it,
 'T has done you good service, and thank Hell for it:
 Although the old maxim remains still in force,
 That a sanctified cause must have a sanctified course."

As to further activities in the Royal cause in England,² both Aubrey and Wood give credence to the belief that he assisted in the escape of the Dukes of Yorke and Gloucester from St. James,³ and conveyed them into France to the Prince of Wales and Queenmother. Clarendon, however, says nothing of this; instead, he attributes the flight of the two dukes to the work of Colonel Bampfieeld.⁴

After King Charles, the First, passed into the hands of the army, Denham, by acquiring favor with Hugh Peters, the king's warden, was able to gain admission to the royal presence. When the king left Hampton Court, he commanded Denham to remain in London in charge of his secret correspondence. Being "furnished with nine several cyphers", Denham managed the correspondence with great safety for nine months. At the end of that time, the Parliamentarians through "their knowledge of Mr. Cowley's hand" discovered Denham's activities. To save both himself and those who had corresponded

1. Ibid. p. 104.

2. That Denham was engaged in other royalist activities of which there is no record is shown, by the fact that he is one of those interdicted in 1646 by Parliament from "his majesties' counsellors, and restrained from coming within the verge of the Court." John Thurloe, State Papers." Vol. I, p. 81.

3. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. I, p. 218.

4. Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, "History of the Rebellion." 1888. Vol. IV, pp. 327-328.

with him, Denham escaped in safety to France.¹

EDMUND WALLER

The life of Waller is the most unusual of the group of Cavalier poets. His interests were the same as those of Cowley, D'Avenant, and Denham, but they were personal, rather than patriotic. His whole life appears in the light of extreme selfishness; every one of his acts seems to have arisen from ulterior motives of his own. Although he ultimately became as prominent a cavalier as any of the other three poets, he did so by no ability or excellence of his own character. Unlike Cowley, he won no fame by his talented literary support of the royalists; nor did he advance to power upon the basis of rewards for undeviating application and admirable perseverance as did D'Avenant; unlike Denham, he had no noble ancestry to give him prestige. Nor did he have the true affability of the latter to recommend him. In every respect, he was a much shallower type of man than either Cowley, D'Avenant, or Denham. In contrast to their rise in the world, his position of secondary importance was secured through no good qualities or intellectual excellencies of his own. It was only by his degenerate and impudently time serving tendencies that he reached the place which he did. That this analysis is not untrue is evidenced in the following account of his rise to prominence.

1. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684. "Epistle Dedicatory," p. 3.

Waller is perhaps the most interesting member of this Cavalier group, because of his peculiar relations with both the Puritan and Royalist parties. Quite unlike the other poets, in birth and relationships, he was a Commonwealth man, for he was "the son and heir of (Robert Waller) by (Anne) Hamden. He was cosenger-man to Oliver Cromwell, whose mother was his mother's sister."¹

He early became associated with politics. Even at the age of "sixteen or seventeen" he had a seat in the House. In 1625, he represented "Chipping Wycombe"; in 1627, he was sent from Agmondesham. After the proroguing of Parliament in 1628, he retired to Beaconsfield.²

Although at this time not intimately connected with the court party, Waller in commendatory stanzas dedicated to the royalty sought favor. In "To the King on his Navy," Waller, after describing England's power on the sea, tickles the royal sense of vanity by saying:

"The World's restorer once cou'd not endure,
That finish'd Babel shou'd those men secure,
Whose pride design'd that fabric to have stood
Above the reach of any second flood:
To thee his chosen more indulgent, he
Dares trust such power with so much piety".³

In equally flattering terms, Waller addresses the queen in his poem, "To the Queen, occasion'd upon Sight of Her Majesty's

1. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. II, p. 274.
2. "Biographia Britannica" Vol. VII, p. 4100.
3. Edmund Waller, "Poems," London, 1744, p. 9.

Picture," he says:

"Heaven, that prefer'd a sceptre to your hand,
 Favor'd our freedom more than your command:
 Beauty had crown'd you, and you must have been,¹
 The whole world's mistress, other than a queen."

It was probably such verses as these that made possible his existence during the period which he spent "enjoying his large fortune in a state of independency on the court, where he was not the less acceptable as he never made any application for preferments there. . . ." Because of his relations with the Hampden family, however, he was never acceptable to the reigning favourites "further than his muse made him".² Thus it is evident that his poetic adulations brought results.

In 1640, upon the reassembling of Parliament, Waller was again a representative from Agmondesham. In this session, short as it was (April-March), he distinguished himself by a speech asking for a redress of grievances by the King. In this speech, he urged Charles I to establish all laws upon a stabilized basis and particularly "to restore the rights of property and freedom of persons". Even in this speech, there is present that tendency to cater to both sides, for, while attacking the king's abuse of privilege and personal liberties (a position highly satisfactory to the Puritans), he also attributed the mistakes of the monarchy to the ministry and the bishops rather than to the king, of whom he says, "That the person of no king was ever better

1. Ibid, p. 14.

2. "Biographia Britannica"

Vol. VII, p. 4103.

beloved of his people", (a sentiment highly placating to the Royalists). In the next Parliament, assembling November 3 of the same year, Waller was so ardent against the king's unjust measures, particularly the ship-money question in which his Uncle John Hampden had been involved, that he was appointed to conduct the trial of Judge Crawley, who had been active in the ship-money case.¹ This trial he prosecuted with such vigor and bitterness that it was "doubtful whether the sweet or sour passions were most in his nature."²

The next episode in Waller's life removed him from his previous anomalous state of indecision and severed him irreconcilably for the time at least, from the popular party. This was during the period (1640-43) when Parliament was engaged in secret plots against the King, in which "No respect for his (Waller's) Uncle Hampden could engage him to enter into that gentleman's deeper designs against his Prince."³ When the final breach with Parliament came, Waller is supposed to have retired from the house, later returning with his Majesty's permission.⁴ After his return, he spoke so freely and with such impunity in opposition to Parliament's plans as to arouse comment.⁵

After the battle of Edgehill, Waller was one of those sent by Parliament to the king to treat for peace. While on this

1. Edmund Waller, "Poems" London, 1694, pp. 78-100.

2. "Biographia Britannica", Vol. VII, p. 4104.

3. "Biographia Britannica", Vol. VII, p. 4104.

4. G. Thorn Drury remarks, "This is distinctly contradicted by Waller's own statement, communicated by his son-in-law, Dr. Birch, to the writer of his 'Life' (1711). "Intro. Waller's "Poems". (Muses Lib.) Vol. I, p. XXXVIII.

5. "Biographia Britannica", Vol. VII, p. 4104.

expedition, he probably had in mind the royalist plot which later resulted in his exile. The King seems to have known of this, for, when Waller kissed his hand, he said:" 'Though you are the last, yet you are not the worst nor the least in our favor.' "¹

The plot just referred to was developed by Waller, and his brother-in-law Tomkins, who, after discussing conditions between themselves, concluded that with a little organization resistance to the unjust taxes of parliament might be effected, and more particularly that the civil war might be successfully terminated. Tomkins canvassed the city to determine those favorably affected towards the King, while Waller performed a similar task in Parliament. By communicating their plans to but three people at one time, they hoped by such preventive measures to render less likely the possibility of discovery. Clarendon thinks the plot was not, as alleged after its unmasking, an attempt to bring in the army of the King for the subversion of parliament.² Waller in his confessional speech³ before Parliament, (July 4, 1643), likewise disclaims all such intentions, vowing that "I made not this business, but found it; it was in other men's hands long before it was brought to me; and when it came, I extended it not, but restrain'd it". If Waller's intentions were as innocent as he so earnestly proclaimed, the arrangements for the plot were rather unfortunately timed, for, while this conspiracy, so laudable in intent, was being

1. Bulstrode Whitelocke, "Memorials", Vol. 1, p. 203.

2. Edward Hyde, "History of the Rebellion" Ed. 1888. Vol. III, pp. 40-52.

3. Edmund Waller, "Poems" Ed. 1744. p. 277.

formulated, another of a more violently insidious character, likewise sanctioned by the King's consent, was being planned by one Nicholas Crispe, who felt that he had been grievously injured by some parliamentary measures. Crispe's design seems to have been revolutionary, aiming, as it did, to subdue Parliament by force. To accomplish his purpose, he planned an uprising within London, which was to take place upon the approach of the Royal army from without. In some manner, Waller's plot seems to have become a part of the other. The plot soon leaked out, the exact source of the revelations being unknown, although it is supposed that a servant overheard Waller and Tomkins discussing the plans. Waller and Tomkins soon were arrested. The apprehension of the other plotters soon followed. Waller so completely lost possession of himself that he immediately with the utmost cowardice confessed his guilt and at the same time sought to implicate his accomplices, particularly the Earls of Portland and Northumberland, and Lord Conway. In the succeeding trial, "Mr. Waller, himself (though ... the most guilty)" acted "with incredible dissimulation. . . such remorse of conscience, ~~has~~ his trial was put off out of Christian compassion, till he might recover his understanding."¹ Later, after using his influence, and after distributing liberal bribes, he was brought again before the House. He plead with such humility and apparent remorse for what he had done that the assembled body was moved to clemency. He plead the danger of establishing a precedent by his trial, his former reputation, and service in the

1. Edward Hyde, "History of the Rebellion," 1838. Vol. III, p. 51.

house. He continued, "I might therefore shew you my children, whom the rigor of your justice would make complete orphans, being already motherless . . . but, something there is, which if I could shew you, would move you more than all this; --- it is my heart, which abhors what I have done.¹" Clarendon cold bloodedly remarks, "he does as much owe the keeping of his head to that oration as Cataline did the loss of his to those of Tully"² Parliament in Pity assessed a fine of 10,000 pounds and allowed Waller to pass into banishment.

In general, however, these four poets, Cowley, D'Avenant, Denham, and Waller were alike in becoming royalists gradually. After definitely allying themselves with that party, they were so important as to secure disfavor among the Puritans; Denham and Cowley aided the Royalsts in cipher correspondence; D'Avenant and Waller assisted the King by secret plots with the army. The activities of all four became so well known and valuable that when their opponents gained supremacy, they had to retire to the continent for their own safety.

1. Edmund Waller, "Poems," Ed. 1744. p. 279.

2. Edward Hyde, "History of the Rebellion," Ed. 1888. Vol. III, p. 52.

FOREIGN ACTIVITIES AND TRAVEL OF THE
CAVALIER POETS WHILE IN EXILE
UPON THE CONTINENT.

CHAPTER III.

In 1645, Charles I, after a series of minor battles in which he suffered severe losses, was decisively defeated on June 14, at Naseby by Cromwell and the "New Model" army. Seeing his army routed, Charles went over to the Scots, who in July urged him to accept the covenant, Presbyterianism, and certain measures respecting the parliamentary control of the army. When the king refused these overtures, the Scots, angered at their ill success and more substantially impelled by the payment of salaries (long since in arrears) for their services in the army, surrendered the king to representatives of the Parliament. In 1647, some members of the army seized the king, then in the custody of the Parliamentary commission. After secret intrigues in 1648, Charles I agreed to establish Presbyterianism in England for three years in return for Scotch support. When this agreement was affected, an uprising of royalists and Scotch took place in the king's favor; this was soon put down at Preston, August 17, 1648. Shortly after this battle, the Independents, disgusted with the recalcitrant attitude of the Parliament, on December 6th, "purged" the House of its Presbyterian members. Soon after, a court was established to try the king. By its action, the king was condemned and later executed, January 29, 1649.

During the next few years, "The Rump" Parliament and the army governed the kingdom. This form of rule failed because of the numerous dissensions as to religion and governmental policy. In 1653, Cromwell dissolved the Parliament by force, and summoned in its place a group of his supporters, known as "Barebones Parliament", who arranged for the Protectorate and a newly elected legislative assembly. This last plan was put in operation in 1654.

In the same period, the exiled Royalists were seeking to take advantage of these internal disorders of England in order to accomplish a counter revolution in favor of Prince Charles. Ireland was the first center of their intrigue; its adherence to the Stuart party was soon ended by Cromwell in crushing military defeat, of which that at Drogheda, September 11, 1649, was the most important. Scotland, also, was a royalist center. In 1650, Charles was made King of that country, after he had accepted the covenant. Following this coronation, he sought to unite the Scotch and the Royalists in another uprising, but Cromwell quelled this as successfully as he had that of the Irish in a hard fought battle at Dunbar, September 3, 1650. Still undeterred by this loss, Charles in 1651, made a second attempt to regain the throne by marching into England. Again a severe defeat at Worcester, September 3, 1651, routed the royal army, and Charles fled to Europe. Until the Restoration, the exiles planned other intrigues, none of which were important.

With all rebellion ended, Cromwell continued to strengthen his power, and by 1658, was a king in all but name. His further ambitions were cut short by his death in September of that year. Richard Cromwell succeeded his father to the throne, but not hav-

ing the same innate ability, was unable to suppress the clamor for reform. In the meantime, General Monk, Commander of the army in Scotland, feeling that there was a prevalent desire for the re-establishment of the hereditary rulers, marched to London and prepared for the election of a new Parliament. A treaty was also signed with Charles II, who agreed to accept whatever government was dictated by this new Parliament. In June 1660, Prince Charles returned to England, joyously welcomed by the entire country. All of these events were eagerly watched by the exiles on the continent. With every veering of the political weather vane in England, corresponding changes were necessary in the royalist plans abroad.

In the main during this period (1640-1660), the chief interests of the Stuarts were located in Holland and, more particularly, in Saint Germain, France, where Charles I's queen, Henrietta Maria, lived. Such men of prominence as Cowley, Denham, D'Avenant, Waller, Wilmot, Percy, Lord Colepepper, Hobbes, Crashaw, Jermyn, and Digby were conspicuous in the brilliant social activity of the latter place.

The exiled members of this court at Saint Germain were received by the people of France with marked hospitality. In fact, the entire French nation took a personal interest in Stuart and royalist affairs and did all that was possible to make its exiled English guests have a pleasant life. "Bals, concerts, comédies, promenades, fêtes de toutes sortes," writes M. Charlanne, "rien ne fut ménagé à Fontainebleau pour la distraction des hôtes royaux venus d'Angleterre et de leur entourage. Intimement mêlés à la vie de la cour française, ils en partagèrent les joies et les tristesses, heureux aux heures gaies, attristés, un peu

délaissés aux jours sombres de la Fronde, encore que la cour de France, au dire de Guy Joly, ne se privât pas toujours, à la veille des troubles, de dépenses excessives et superflues pour ses distractions du Palais-Royal." The exiles preferred "le séjour de Paris, le voisinage du Louvre, de Saint-Germain et de Fontainebleau aux somnolences, peut-être un peu lourdes, de la cour de Hollande, où se risquaient, par aventure, mais généralement pour peu de temps, les Cavaliers fuyant devant Cromwell"¹

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

In this thrilling life upon the continent, Cowley appears as one of the most active figures. As has been mentioned before, he was associated with the court life at Saint Germain. He acted as private Secretary for Lord Jermyn; in this capacity, he directed no small amount of the secret business of the royalists. To him was intrusted the cipher correspondence between King Charles I and Henrietta Maria; the discovery of his codes was responsible for Denham's flight from England (1648). His code work was very arduous, for he deciphered most of the letters himself "and managed a vast intelligence in many other parts; which, for some years together, took up all his days and two or three nights every week."²

In 1646, Cowley discovered the poet Crashaw in poverty in Paris and assisted him in gaining the good will of the Queen, Henrietta Maria.³ In August, Henrietta wrote to Pope Innocent X

1. Louis Charlanne, "L'Influence Francaise en Angleterre au XVII Siecle." Paris, 1906. p. XVII.

2. Thomas Sprat, "Life of Cowley." Ed. 1684. p. V.

3. Alexander Chalmers, "Life of Crashaw" in "Chalmers English Poets." Vol. VI, p. 512.

and asked his favor for Crashaw, for whom the English Catholics "had great hopes" and for whom she had "great esteem."¹ By this aid, Crashaw became a canon at Loretto, all of which good fortune may be attributed indirectly to Cowley's kindness.

To assist the royal cause, Cowley made several journeys into "Jersey, Scotland, Flanders and Holland." He may have made these journeys before he began conducting the King and Queen's correspondence.² In letters, written later by himself and his contemporaries, however, it is shown that Cowley about 1650 made similar trips. In a letter to Mr. Henry Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, from Paris, December 5, 1650, Cowley speaks of Lord Jermyn being sent to Holland. He says, "I shall wait upon him thither, and we think to part tomorrow, so that you will not suddenly be troubled with anything from me."³ Cowley also went to Scotland, for, in a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas at the Hague, Feb. 8, 165⁰_I N. S., to Mr. S. Smith, (Lord Hatton), the writer says, "I believe Lord Jermyn sent his Secretary (Mr. Cowley) into Scotland upon some design concerning Jersey or Guernsey, about disposing of some of the king's jewels to see if leave might be obtained for Lord Jermyn to go into Scotland . . . I pray

1. "Calendar of State Papers: Domestic Series (1645-47)." Vol. XXI, p. 467.

2. Leslie Stephen, "Cowley" in "Dictionary of National Biography." Vol. IV, p. 1305.

3. Abraham Cowley, "Complete Works". (Chertsey Worthies Library). Vol. II, p. 352.

enquire after the cause and business whereupon Mr. Cowley was sent. . . .¹ Another letter from Nicholas to the Earl of Norwich $\frac{11}{12}$ March, 1651, gives evidence to the same effect; Sir Edward Nicholas says that Argyle and the King had summoned Lord Jermyn to be Secretary of State (for the King was then ruler of Scotland), "whither some conceive the queen will not permit Lord Jermyn to go. But Mr. Long assures me that her majesty had fully consented to it, before Mr. Cowley went into Scotland."² The following letter by Nicholas indicates Cowley's return. It is directed to Mr. Smith (Lord Hatton) from the Hague, $\frac{12}{22}$ March, 1651, "The L. of York writ a letter with his own hand a fortnight since to the Pr. of Condé, and (as I hear) sent it to Sir John Berkley to deliver, and likewise to the other princes, congratulating their liberty, and I have been told that Mr. Cowley brought letters also from the K. to the same effect."³ In another letter to Lord Hatton, March 1, 165 $\frac{0}{1}$ N. S., he says, "Mr. Rainsford and Mr. Cowley are gone towards France, being the last that came from Scotland."⁴ This last shows that Cowley went to Holland. A short time later, Cowley was again in France, for Sir George Carteret, writing to Sir Edward Nicholas, $\frac{10}{20}$ April, 1651, says of a recent letter from Lord Culpepper, "His Lordship writs unto me also that he hath sent a bill to Paris for 1124 guilders, 14 sols, which Mr. Cowley

1. "Nicholas Papers." (Camd. Soc. Publ.) N. S. Vol. XL, p. 219
2. Ibid. N. S. Vol. XL, p. 227.
3. Ibid. N. S. Vol. XL, p. 228.
4. Ibid. N. S. Vol. XL, p. 222.

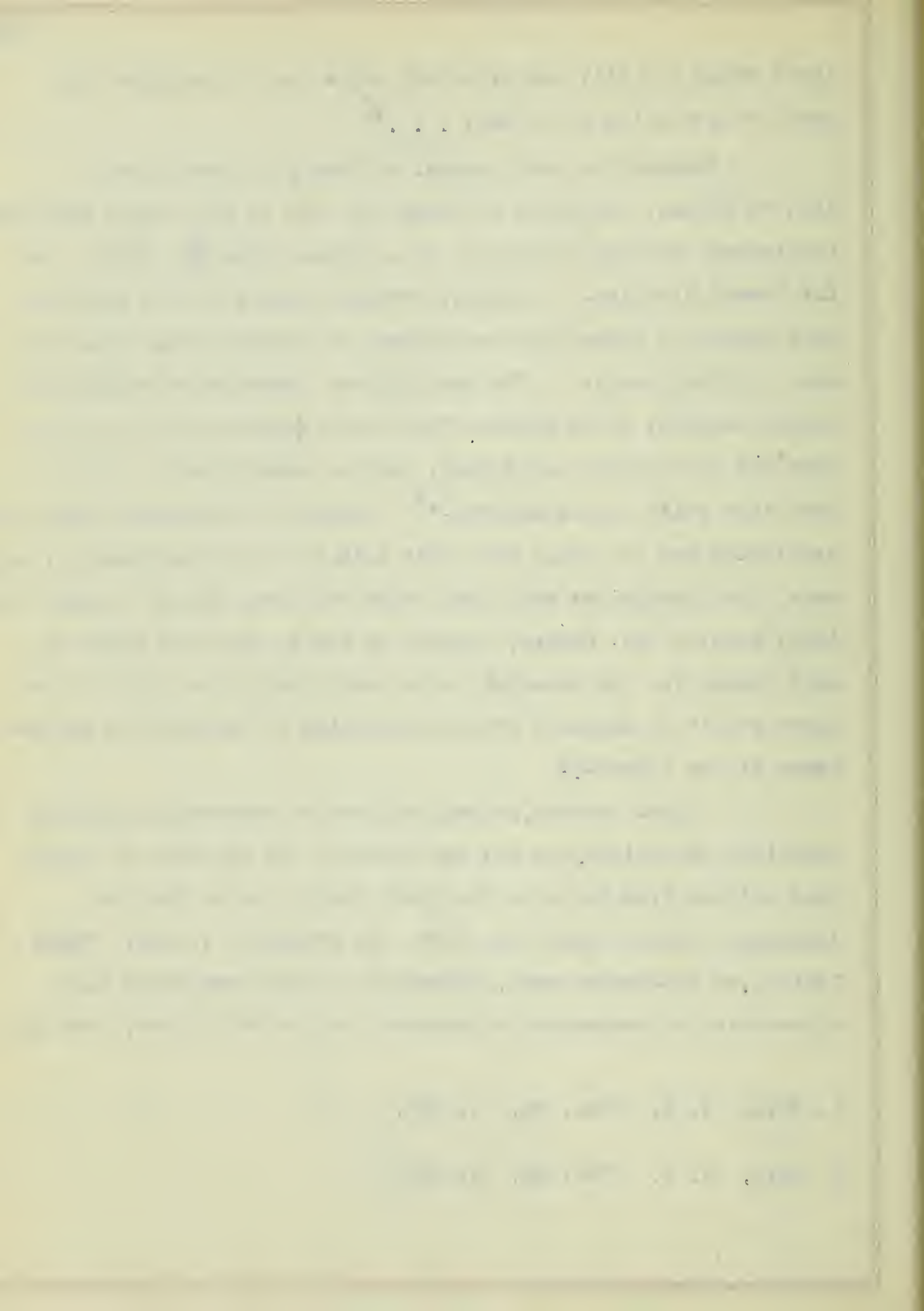
(unto whome the bill was directed) writes me is accepted and shall be payed the 29 of May, . . .¹

Perhaps the most unusual of Cowley's travels was that to Jersey, the facts of which are told by Sir George Carteret, Lieutenant Governor of Jersey, in a letter (June $\frac{9}{19}$, 1651) to Sir Edward Nicholas. Herein, Carteret speaks of the visit of Lord Jermyn to Jersey for the purpose of raising money from the sale of royal lands. The sale did not progress as rapidly as Jermyn desired; so he decided "to take the lands in his own name from" Sir John Barkly and Cowley, the two commissioners and to have them sold" in his absence."² Farther in the same letter, in mentioning how the money from this sale was to be disposed of, he says, that provisions were made "that the money should be payd into (the) hands of Mr. Cowley, whereof he was to pay 2000 pound to Lord Jermyn for his interest in the said lands; the rest of the money was to be employed for the providing of the castles and defence of the Islands."

Other sources, giving information concerning Cowley's political activities, are his own letters, the majority of which were written from Paris to Mr. Henry Bennet, later Earl of Arlington, between April 30, 1650, and December 6, 1650. These letters, as Dr. Johnson says, "show him to have been above the affectation of unseasonable elegance, and to have known, that the

1. Ibid. N. S. Vol. XL, p. 235.

2. Ibid. N. S. Vol. XL, p. 259.



business of a statesman can be little forwarded by flowers of rhetoric."¹ They are detailed accounts of the negotiations between Charles and the Scots, preceding the Prince's coronation as ruler of that Kingdom, of the play and counterplay in accomplishing this, and last of the great anxiety lest something should prevent the culmination of the plan.² The following extract is fairly characteristic, as exemplifying the closeness with which Cowley was informed of the passing events of the day:

"Paris,
May 10, 1650.

Sir,

Our last letters from Holland told us, that Mr. Rainford within a day or two after them would be with us with the news of the final agreement with the Scots, which no body then seemed to doubt of, but it is now six days since, and we hear not a word of Mr. Rainford, nor anything any other way which may free us from the apprehensions that his stay suggests to us; It is with great impatience that we have expected him every hour, and I believe you will spend your time with no less, till you hear again from me, which shall be by the next post, and then you shall know the conclusion of this matter. The English army is already marching northward, etc."²

In 1655, another contemporary allusion to Cowley's activity appears in a letter of Intelligence from Colonel Bamfylde of Paris for Mr. Adrian Corssellis, { Dec. 2, } 1655, 839 has told a friend of mine, { Nov. 22, } You that 7, 50, 73, 41, 39, 58, shall apply to 820 and pretend to serve your interest to 712, and 369, 26, 59, 49, 714. secure free h. i m self³

1. Samuel Johnson, "Lives of the Poets." Ed. 1905. Vol. I, p. 8.

2. Abraham Cowley, "Works." (Chertsey Worthies Lib.). Vol. II, p. 346.

3. John Thurloe, "State Papers" Vol. IV, p. 232.

The rest of Cowley's exile is clouded. His activities as a correspondent "passed, of course, into other hands", when the prince left France." He was then sent by his party to spy upon affairs in England.¹ While in London, he was so unfortunate as to be captured by the authorities, who were seeking for another man. He was imprisoned and "was often examined before the usurpers, who tryed all imaginable ways to make him serviceable to their ends."² That course not prevailing, he was committed to a severe restraint." Ultimately he was freed by Dr. Scarborough, who stood his bail for one thousand pounds. Wood's account of his return is somewhat different. He claims that Cowley obtained an order to be created a doctor of physic," after complying with some of the men then in power, (which was taken notice of by the royal party)," and that when this had been "done to his mind (whereby he gained the ill-will of some of his friends), he went into France again."³ Sprat's account is more flattering:- "Yet taking the opportunity of the confusions that followed upon Cromwell's death, he ventured back into France; and there remained in the same station as before, till near the time of the King's return."⁴ With this, the knowledge of Cowley's exile and foreign travel is concluded.

1. Lord Hatton to Sir Edward Nicholas, Paris, 20 October, 1654, "There is sure some treaty on foot, for Mr. Cooly (probably Cowley) is parted hence for England." "Nicholas Papers" (Camd. Soc. Publ. Vol. L, p. 92).

2. Thomas Sprat, "Life of Cowley." Ed. 1684. p. V.

3. Anthony A. Wood, "Fasti." Vol. IV, pt. II, p. 210.

4. Thomas Sprat, "Life of Cowley." Ed. 1684. page VI.

SIR WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

Between the lives and characters of Cowley and D'Avenant in banishment, there were the same marked similarities and contrasts as appeared in the time before their exile. Surrounded by new conditions of foreign life, Cowley seemed to be, even to a greater extent than before, the more brilliant and capable of the two men. He was much more prominent and active in every way than D'Avenant. With remarkable facility, he adapted himself to his new life, and, as never before, he showed his inherent worth as a man. His intellectual alertness, nervous energy, unexcelled industry, as well as his magnetic personality, became even more apparent. Because of these valuable traits of character, he was in the vanguard of each important movement; he was ever the cool headed, clear thinking executive and leader. Even his noble and genial characteristics became more noticeable. In this respect, his consideration for the poverty stricken Crashaw was indeed commendable. His arduous labor as a cypher Secretary for his King and queen was also a testimonial of the unselfishness of his nature. In the entire period, the only blemish upon his character is to be seen in his subsequent tendency toward vacillation, when he realized the seemingly futile efforts of the royalists. With these qualities may be contrasted those of D'Avenant, for the latter's interests and life were almost identical with Cowley's, more so, in fact, than the lives of the two other poets, Denham and Waller. D'Avenant, as when in England, appeared to be the less brilliant figure of the two. Whereas Cowley was ever the successful leader

in affairs, D'Avenant was always a performer of what had been planned by others. When he did take up work on his own initiative he usually lacked the requisite capacity for bringing it to a successful conclusion. Though Cowley was vitally affected personally by what took place about him, D'Avenant, apparently but little moved, lived much as he had before he went to France. Every part of his career was but a repetition of his early unassuming dependability and faithfulness; he seemed to have little desire to distinguish himself. Though always eager to take part in affairs, he was different from Cowley in desiring a background seat. In the philanthropic traits of his character, he much resembled Cowley, both being interested in helping the down cast and oppressed. But D'Avenant showed these kindly qualities to a greater extent. Unlike Cowley, in the midst of all his sufferings, he maintained a constant attitude of patient endurance. He bore with fortitude and admirable steadfastness ^{the} same trials and disappointments, which ultimately revealed the weakness in Cowley's moral fibre.

Aside from these general similarities and contrasts of their personalities, the specific events of their lives as exiles were very much alike. Both were interested in conducting intrigues and in performing diplomatic journeys. But, in these activities, the superior ability of Cowley was always in evidence. He ever stood forth as an acknowledged leader; while in the same work, as performed by D'Avenant, on notices that the poet was but a person of secondary importance, a kind of go-between. Never does he distinguish himself by the ready adaptability, constant brilliancy, or unstinted energy of the cypher secretary.

After his escape from England (1641), he went directly to France. The first really important incident in his life was the assistance which he gave the Earl of Newcastle. After being in a France a short time, "the queen sent over stores for the Earl of Newcastle's army, Mr. D'Avenant came over with them, and offered his service to that noble peer" D'Avenant became Lieutenant General of the Earl's ordnance, "to the no small dislike of some, who thot that a post very unfit for a poet."¹ During the campaign, D'Avenant had "two alderman of Yorke, his prisoners, who were something stubborne, and would not give the ransome ordered by the Councell of warre."² Sir William treated these men courteously "and sate them at the upper end of his table à la mode de France;" later, he gave them an opportunity of escape. To these men, as well as to Milton, D'Avenant's own release is attributed, after he had been captured by the Parliamentarians (1650).

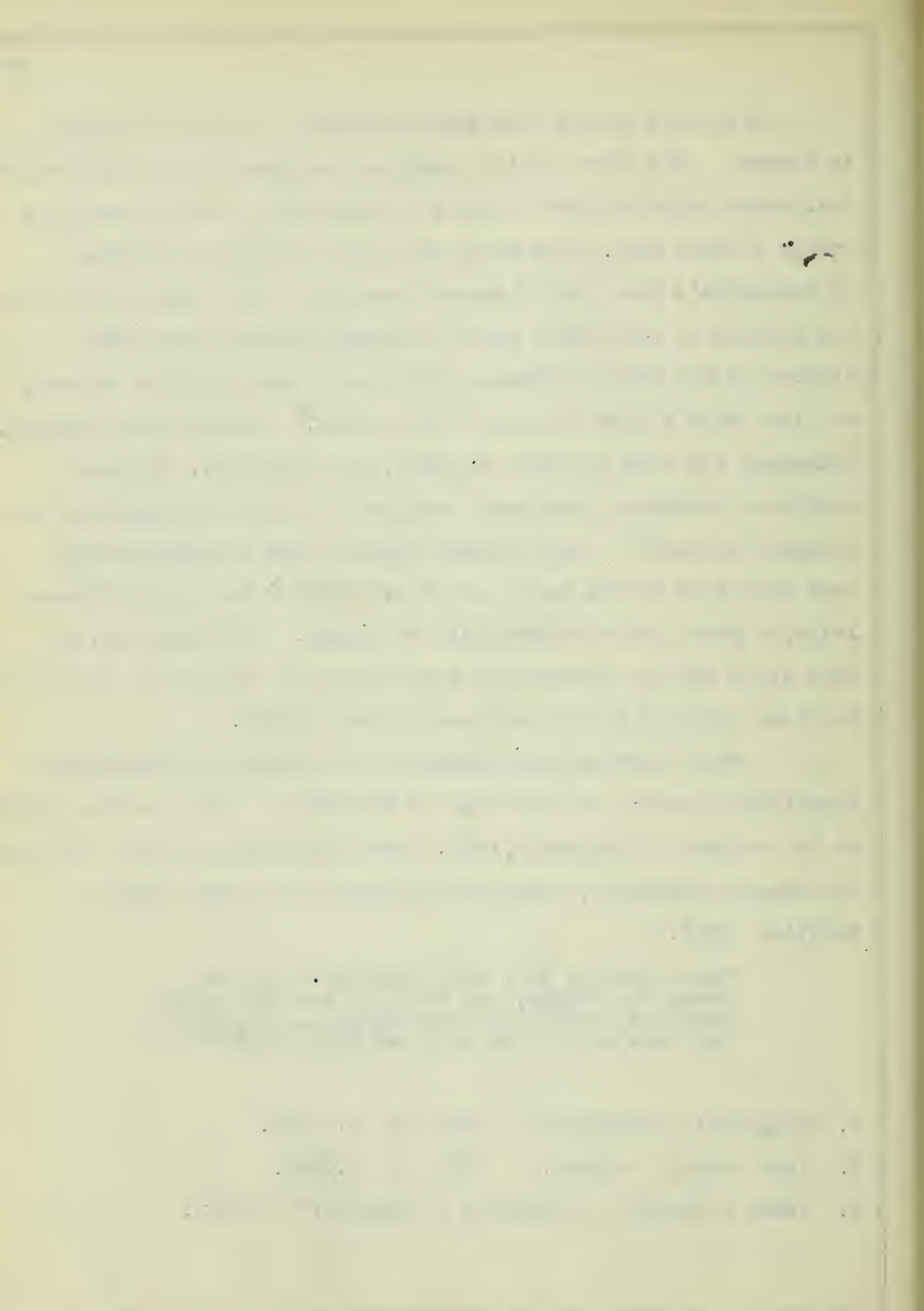
While serving with Newcastle, Sir William distinguished himself for bravery at the siege of Floucester, where he was knighted by the King in September, 1643. Some contemporary wits, thinking the reward undeserved, satirized D'Avenant in a poem, "Upon Fighting Will:"

"Sure fighting Will like basilisk did ride
Among the troops, and all that saw Will died;
Else how could Will, for fighting, be a Knight,
And none alive that ever saw Will fight?"³

1. "Biographia Britannica." Vol. III, p. 1605.

2. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. I, p. 206.

3. Isaac D'Israeli, "Quarrels of Authors." p. 245.



"Upon the declining of the king's cause, and all things thereupon, especially the church, being visibly tending to ruine, he retir'd again into France, changing his religion for that of Rome, and settling for a time in Paris, where Charles, Prince of Wales, then was."¹

In 1645, there are several evidences of the travels of D'Avenant. Paris, ~~April 25,~~ ^{May 5,} 1645, Lord Jermyn writes to Lord Digby, "This bearer, Sir William D'Avenant is infinitely faithful to the King's cause; he hath been lately in Holland, so that he met there with the knowledge of our treaty . . . Pray, if D'Avenant have need of your favour in anything, use him very kindly for my sake, and let him know (who) conjured you to do so."² In July, D'Avenant was engaged in the secret collection of "gunpowder and match."² Lord Jermyn in a letter, July $\frac{20}{30}$, 1645, from St. Germain, to "Sir John Berkeley, Sir Hugh Pollard, or Sir Wm. D'Avenant, says, "I understand Bottomley has arrived with 200 barrels of powder and the like weight of match, and that Brown was 7 days since ready at Sherbou (r) ve with 150 barrels more . . . these two porportions, I hope, will suffice till you receive 300 barrels more, besides match (some words in cipher), which is a present from the queen to you. . ."² Sir Hugh Pollard, Dec. 16, 1645, speaks of sending papers to Sir Edward Hyde" from Sir W. D'Avenant from Havre, where he and Lord Goring had landed

1. Anthony Wood, "Oxonienses." Vol. III, p. 806.

2. "Calendar of State Papers: Domestic". (1644-1645), Vol. XX, pp. 430-31; (1645-47). Vol. XXI, p. 23.

December 20, going thence to Paris."¹

In 1646, D'Avenant went on an embassy to Charles I at Newcastle. He wished to persuade Charles to adopt Presbyterianism, in order to gain the support of the Parliamentary Majority. The first allusion to this trip is in a letter, (September 26, 1646), from Charles I to Henrietta Maria:- "I hear of Montrevil, D'Avenant, and Lesley; but none of them are yet come."² In a later letter (October 3, 1646), Charles I writes:- "Dear Heart, I must needs begin by telling that kindness came never more seasonable to a man than thine to me this week, by thy dispatches (sent by Montrevil, Lesley, D'Avenant, and Moubray)."³

After D'Avenant had arrived at Newcastle, he was admitted to the royal presence and began to urge the king to abandon the episcopacy. He was unable to move the king. Soon D'Avenant, fearing that his request would fail through the king's obstinacy, began to offer reasons of his own, urging the king to do this, for "it was the advice and opinion of all his friends, his majesty asking 'What friends?' and he answered that it was the opinion of the 'Lord Jermin', the king said, 'that the Lord Jermin did not understand anything of the church.' The other said, 'the Lord Colepepper was of the same mind.' The king said, 'Colepepper had no religion', and asked 'whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer was of that mind?', to which he answer'd 'he did not know,

1. "Cal. of Clarendon State Papers in Bodleian Lib." Vol. I, p. 290. This probably refers to the poets return to France, after being with Newcastle.

2. "Letters of Charles I." (Camd. Soc. Publ.). Vol. LXIII, p. 67.

3. Ibid. Vol. LXIII, p. 68.

for that he was not there, and had deserted the prince', and thereupon said somewhat from the queen of the displeasure she had conceived against the chancellor, to which the king said, 'the chancellor was an honest man, and would never desert him, nor the prince, nor the church; and that he was sorry he was not with his son; but that his wife was mistaken.' D'Avenant, then offering some reasons of his own, in which he mentioned the church slightly, as if it were not of importance enough to weigh down the benefit that would attend the concession, his majesty was transported with so much indignation that he gave him a sharper reprehension than was usual for him to give to any other man; and forbid him to presume to come again into his presence. Whereupon the poor man, who had in truth very good affections, was exceedingly dejected and afflicted, and returned into France. . ."¹ Referring to D'Avenant's failure in a letter to Henrietta, Charles at Newcastle (Oct. 17, 1646) hopes D'Avenant's account will satisfy her desires. Farther in the same letter, he says, "wherefore I assure thee, that the absolute establishing of Presbyterian government would make me but a titular king, and this is confessed by both the Wills (D'Avenant and Murray); but then they say, that a present absolute concession is the only way to reduce the church government as it was."² In a letter from Saint Germain to Charles, respecting this same problem, the Queen mentions D'Avenant; "Nov. $\frac{20}{30}$, 1646, D'Avenant's account gives her more fear than hope.

1. Hyde, Edward, Earl of Clarendon, "History of the Rebellion." Ed. 1888. Vol. IV. pp. 205-206.

2. "Letters of Charles I" (Camd. Soc. Publ.) Vol. LXIII, pp. 70-71.

Thinks Scots will hardly deliver him up at Westminster."¹

Nov. 17, 1646, there is a contemporary allusion to the poet's travels in a letter from Sir Robert Murray at Newcastle to the Duke of Hamilton, "all I have learned of the letters from France mentioned in my last is that they are not those that the king expects in answer of what Will D'Avenant carried."²

In 1648, D'Avenant was involved in some of the petty disagreements of the factions, into which the royal exiles had divided. Lord Christopher Hatton, in a letter from Paris, August 29, 1648, tells of one of these disputes, in which Lord Jermyn and Lord Kenelm Digby were the participants. Digby felt that Jermyn, Goffe, and other agents were representing him as one whose company had been refused by the prince, and who had been "layed aside att St. Germaines. To redress these personal grievances, he challenged Lord Jermyn to a duel. "It was imbraced by the Lord Jarmin and Sir William D'Avenant, elected for Jarmin's second to encounter Sir Kenelm, the meeting to be att Nanterre between St. Germaines and Paris." The plans for the duel were discovered, for, after a short absence from the city, Digby, upon his return, found that "the Lo. Jarmin and Sir William D'Avenant had a guard sett upon them." How the affair was hushed up is not known.

In the same letter, another factional dispute is described. A certain Captain Griffin of Dieppe, a man of ill repute among the

1. "Calendar of Clarendon State Papers." Vol. I. (1523-1649), p. 343.

2. "Hamilton Papers" (Camd. Soc. Publ.). Vol. XXVII, p. 127.

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Royalists, quarrelled with Lord Jermyn and "swore to cut his throat."¹ This caused D'Avenant to wait upon Griffin and "to reconcile the Lord Jarmin and him, and to undertake not only for a visit to him by the Lord Jarmin (who I believe visited none else there) but likewise that Jarmin should bring him to kiss the Prince's hand." Jermyn seems to have arranged the meeting with the prince. Scarcely was this done, when Griffin began to make boasts, that, if a threat to cut Jermyn's throat at "Callice" was enough to secure permission to kiss the prince's hand, then most certainly a threat to pistol Jermyn in Paris, where he could gain the assistance of "common rogues", would be enough to procure permission" to kiss the queene's hand." He also vowed "to all men in all companyes, that he would cause D'Avenant to be pistolled. . . 2 When the queen heard that this ruffian had been brought to kiss the prince's hand, she was very angry, saying, 'he was a base fellow that brought him to her sonne' whereupon the Lord Jarmin sayed there, as was reported, and I am sure Sir William D'Avenant sayd itt heere to Sir R. Broune, that Prince Rupert did itt". Griffin later denied this last statement.

At the same time, there was great wrangling as to "what authority or in what capacity the King's counsellors waited on the prince, whether as appointed by the king by any letter or commission,

1. "Nicholas Papers." (Camd. Soc. Publ.) N.S.Vol. XL, p. 94.

2. "Nicholas Papers." (Camd. Soc. Publ.) N.S.Vol. XL, p. 95.

or required by the queene, or commanded by the Prince.¹ Sir Wm. D'Avenant avowed that it was only by virtue of my Lord Jarmin's pleasure, who might if he pleased, as well have appointed him for one, and, if he found itt inconvenient to continue them all or any of them, he might and would att his pleasure remove and change them. . . But Sir William was out, by his leave in that point."

In the year (1650) with Queen Henrietta's consent, D'Avenant prepared to go to America to establish a colony. He desired to take with him a number of weavers and other artificers. "By the queene Mother's meanes, he got favour from the king of France to goe into the prisons and pick and choose. So when the poor dammed wretches understood what the design was the (y) cried uno ore- 'Tout tisseran!' i. e. We are all weavers! Will took 36, if not more, and shipped them." After D'Avenant had sailed, Cowley in a letter to Henry Bennet from Paris, May 10, 1650, said, "We have not heard one word from Sir W.D'Avenant since he left us; be pleased to give me some account of him and his voyage."² The reason for this dearth of information is easily to be explained, for D'Avenant had been captured by parliamentary vessels and taken to Cowes Castle on the Isle of Wight. There, D'Avenant, "having been an active enemy to the Commonwealth" was ordered to be kept in close confinement.³ While a prisoner, he began Book III

1.. Ibid. N. S. Vol. XL, p. 96.

2. Abraham Cowley, "Complete Works." Ed. A. B. Grosart. Ed. 1881. Vol. II, p. 346.

3. "State Papers: Domestic Series." Vol. II (1650), p. 167.

of "Gondibert", which he left unfinished because of his fear of death. D'Avenant was soon taken to London for trial; he was placed in the Tower (1651). He was saved from death in some manner not known, possibly through the agency of the two aldermen of Yorke,¹ or Milton.²

What was done by the poet during the next few years is doubtful. That he made other trips to the continent is shown by the "Warrants of Protector and Council", August 10, 1655, which have an entry, "pass for Sir Wm. D'Avenant to France",³ and also by the "Warrants of the Council of State", March 17, (1659-60), which have an exactly similar entry.³

SIR JOHN DENHAM.

Denham's activities while abroad were like those of Cowley and D'Avenant. Though similar, they showed his character in decided contrast with that of the other two poets. Resembling D'Avenant, Denham usually did what had been planned by others higher in authority; unlike Cowley, he was never a prominent or active execute in royal affairs. Similar contrasts were furnished in his ability to bear with perfect equanimity both his own and the reverses of his party. Life was endured by him without either the moroseness or melancholy of a Cowley or a D'Avenant.

1. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. I, p. 207.

2. Anthony Wood, "Athenae Oxonienses." Vol. III, p. 805.

3. "State Papers: Domestic Series." (1655) Vol. VIII, p. 594; (1659-60) Vol. XIII, p. 571.

He was always in search of geniality and gayety; adversity was nothing to him. Wherever he was, he made himself comfortably at home, quite willing to live with a minimum of unpleasant effort. For this reason, he never seemed to desire to exhibit either the brilliant diplomatic ingenuity of Cowley, or the persistent energy of D'Avenant in the accomplishment of even the most trivial political tasks. He lacked the seriousness of the former and the zeal of the latter. So far as his general affability and geniality were concerned, he was probably more universally popular than either of the other poets. These contrasts become more obvious, if one remembers, that, when important work was to be done, the royalists sought the services of Cowley. When difficult journeys had to be performed with rapidity and secrecy, they secured the aid of D'Avenant. But when they wished to laugh, or to be pleasantly amused, they asked for the society of Denham, whose funny stories, lively verses, and cheerful personality mitigated much of the dullness and sombreness of their banishment. Otherwise, his activities, depending as they did upon mediocre but pleasant traits of character, were, with one exception, never so trustworthy or important as those of Cowley and D'Avenant.

His entrance into Exile was more precipitate than that of either of the other two poets. After a short period spent in England as the London manager for Charles I's cypher messages to Henrietta MARIE he fled to France. The immediate cause of his flight was the discovery of his employment by the parliamentarians through "their knowledge of Mr. Cowley's hand",¹ for Cowley had

1. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684. p. 2.

originally furnished all of the cipher codes used in this correspondence.

The most important event of his exile, took place when "King Charles II sent him and the Lord Culpepper envoys to the King of Poland";² he mentions this in a poem to be treated later. He tells of his own exile as follows:- "After I had the good fortune to wait upon your majesty in Holland and France, you were pleased sometimes to give me arguments to divert and put off the evil hours of our banishment, which now and then fell not short of your majesties expectation."¹ Johnson thinks his "ode or Song upon the Embassy to Poland was one of these amusements."³

Contemporary allusions to his activities while abroad are exceedingly few. Lord Hatton, under the pseudonym of Charles Parker, in a letter dated, "26 May, 1649,"
5 Junij, speaks of Denham's diplomatic travels:- "His majesty, as Mr. Denham brings word, was to set forward on Thursday last, and wee expect him with what speede such a traine can travaill and his entertainments at Breda, Antwerp, and Bruxells will permit."⁴ This was probably written in Paris, and is addressed to "M. Ledison" at Caen.

A slight allusion appears in a letter from Breda, May 12,

1. Ibid. p. 2.

2. John Aubrey, "Lives." p. 218.

3. Samuel Johnson, "Lives of the Poets." Ed. 1905. Vol. I, p. 73.

4. "Nicholas Papers." (Camd. Soc. Publ.) N.S. XL (Vol. I, 1641-1652), p. 129.

1650, by Richard Watson to one Edgeman:- "Sir Wm. Boswell¹ is dead; it is thought Mr. Denham (if not Sir E. Nicholas) will have his place).² Denham was in Antwerp at one time, for a J.P., in London (April 26, O. S.), addresses a letter to him at that place.³

Another allusion to the poet's life in exile refers to his propensity for gambling, which seems to have been an obsession with him when a very young man. Denham indulged himself in the vice while abroad with disastrous results, for Sir Edward Nicholas (Hague, ¹³/₂₃ May, 1652 to Lord Hatton) says, "Mr. Denham hath here lately had very ill luck at play, which hath made him (I am told) in great want at present. He talks of going for England, but it is thought intends not to adventure it, more for fear what his creditors than the rebels there will do against him."⁴

In 1652, the poet returned to England; and, since his estate had been either squandered by gambling or sold by the order of Parliament (July 15, 1651), was "kindly entertained by the Earle of Pembroke at Wilton and London."⁵ Other references to Denham in this latter period are found in two State Paper records: "March 1, 1653, Council of State. Days Proceedings. Sir John Trevor, Col. Fielder, Col. Sidney, and Mr. Scott, to be a committee

1. A diplomatist exceedingly active in preventing an alliance between Holland and the Cromwellian party. The particular reference in this case is unknown. "Dict. Natl. Biog." Vol. II, p. 902.

2. "Calendar of Clarendon State Papers." Vol. II, p. 58.

3. "Clarendon Papers." Vol. II, p. 9.

4. "Nicholas Papers." (Camd. Soc. Publ.). N.S. Vol. XL, p. 300.

5. John Aubrey, "Lives." Vol. I, p. 218.

to examine Mr. Denham, lately come from France. . ."¹; the second appears as an entry for September 14, 1658, "pass for William, Lord Herbert, John Denham, and 5 servants beyond seas."²

EDMUND WALLER

The last of the exiles is Waller whose life is perhaps the least significant of the group, and is in every respect in marked contrast with the lives of the other three. In the period of banishment, he showed more clearly than previously his insipidity, selfishness, as well as a general spiritual and moral weakness. Although prominent in pre-exile activities, when adulations and flattering praises were to be expected, he later became upon the continent strangely inert, when all that he could see ahead of him as rewards for his efforts were the thanks of a poverty stricken royal family, completely overwhelmed with disasters, which were not likely to be retrieved. He saw that his only possible gains were danger, poverty, hardship, and suffering. Such pay did not appeal to him in the least. Hence it was that he preferred to be inactive, while his friends were exerting every effort for the Stuart cause. In contrast with Cowley, who laboriously spent his days and most of his nights with great unselfishness in de-ciphering royal correspondence, Waller enjoyed the inactive pleasures of luxurious life in a home, financed partially by the sale of his wife's jewels. Unlike D'Avenant, who, of his own volition and

1. "State Papers: Domestic", (1652-1653). Vol. V, p. 193.

2. Ibid, (1658-59). Vol. XII, p. 580.

without personal motives, sacrificed his energy and time in unrewarded journeys to and from England, France, and Holland, Waller preferred to desultorily enjoy a pleasure trip to Italy in the company of John Evelyn, the diarist. Compared with Denham, who in genial fashion, passed the days of his exile with an optimistic elevation of spirit, Waller lived in moody despair, because of his absence from England. Unlike all the poets, with the possible exception of Cowley, he showed even some despicable characteristics when he obsequiously and shamefully regained his influence with the Cromwellian party. He lacked throughout his entire exile career the unselfish zeal and contagious enthusiasm of Cowley, the steadiness, and self effacement of D'Avenant, the genial patience and constant stability of Denham. His foreign life seems to have been colorless in the absence of contemporary references to it, while the lives of the other poets are vivid because of these numerous allusions. This absence of contemporary recognition proves how insignificant Waller must have been among the royalists.

It is because of this paucity of references that so little is known of his foreign life. In general, "After he had obtained his pardon of the Parliament, he went to France, where he stayed . . . yeares, and was there very kindly received, and esteemed."¹ From this time on, he seems to have shunned the trials and sacrificing journeys engaged in by his fellow poets. In all the letters dealing with the events and political intrigues of the time, his name is never mentioned. Waller seems to have lived a gay life of ease soothed by the pleasures of society, sure to be open to a man of his wealth. In fact, he and Lord Jermyn were the

1. John Aubrey. "Lives." Vol. II, p. 276.

only persons who were supposed to have been able to maintain a "table" in that period, when the other exiles, even the queen herself, were living lives of abstinence and poverty. He may not have been as heartless as this would tend to indicate, for, according to Fenton, the annotator of his works, "to his private calamities (he) had a large addition of sorrow, in seeing the coast covered with the wrecks of a royal family, which, but a few years before, he had beheld in so flourishing a security. . . ." During the entire period, however, Waller lived "with distinguished hospitality, and even splendor", for he was not disposed "to give into the churlish humour of a malcontent, or the unmanly dejection of a disgraced exile."²

Little is known about the specific details of Waller's travels and continental life. When he fled from England, he passed to ^{Rouen} Roan, where his daughter, Margaret, was born. The next few years are blank, until in 1645, a letter written by Hobbes, the philosopher, at Calais to Waller, tells how the writer passes his time in argumentation for the company in which he then was, concluding with the remark, "I believe you passe much of yours in meditating how you may to your contentment and without blame pass the seas."³

John Evelyn in 1646 and 1647 gives the most extensive account of Waller's travels. In his entry for March 23, 1645, he mentions being with "Mr. Waller, the celebrated poet", who accompanied him from Venice. He speaks of Waller, as, "now newly

1. Edmund Waller, "Poems." Ed. 1744. p. CVIII.

2. "Biographia Britannica". Vol. VII, p. 4108.

3. Edmund Waller, "Poems." (Muses Lib.) Vol. I, p. LVIII.

gotten out of England, after the Parliament had extremely worried him for attempting¹ to put into execution the commission of array, and for which the rest of his colleagues were hanged by the rebels." Farther in the same entry, he says, "I took leave of my comrades at Padua." In an undated entry of 1646, he speaks of being with Mr. Waller and "one Captain Bray, passing by the Euganean hills and reaching Vicenza that night." For the entry of July 5, 1646, which contains the next statement referring specifically to Waller's presence (although he was no doubt with the party in Switzerland), Evelyn tells how they bought a boat and went down stream to Lyons, reaching there in two days. From Lyons, the party "took horse to Roanne." At Roanne, they arranged for an old fisherman to row them on the Loire as far as Orléans. "Sometimes, (they) footed it through pleasant fields and meadows;² sometimes, (they) shot at fowls, and other birds; nothing came amiss; sometimes, (they) played at cards, whilst others sung or were composing verses; for (they) had the great poet, Mr. Waller in (their) company." After one day in Orleans, the party passed on to Paris. In an entry, dated October 4, 1647, Evelyn speaks of stopping at St. Vallerie, "where I stayed one day with Mr. Waller,

1. John Evelyn, "Diary." Vol. I, pp. 225-226.

2. John Evelyn, "Diary." Vol. I, p. 252.

with whom I had some affairs,"¹ while going to London.² November 19, 1850, when in Paris, he tells of a visit to Mr. Waller," where meeting Dr. Holden, an English Sorbonne divine, we fell into some discourse about religion."² In an entry of August 29, 1651, he tells of the death of a daughter of Waller; September 6th, he says, "I went with my wife to St. Germain's, to condole with Mr. Waller's loss."³ The last statement given by Evelyn is that of January 13, 1652, in which, at Calais, he takes leave⁴ of Waller, "who, having been proscribed by the rebels, had obtained of them permission to return", for, after having spent ten years in exile, and "being reduced, as he said, to what he called the "Rump" jewel, it was time for him to think of some means to obtain his return."⁵ This permission was secured through the intercession of Colonel Scroope, "who married his sister." Upon his return, he gained favor with the Cromwellian party, probably because of his relationship to its leader, for in December, 1655, he was appointed a Commissioner

1. This period (1647-50) is filled in by Lady Fanshawe in her "Memoirs", p. 49, who speaks of Mr. Waller and his wife being among those "both in the court and out of it" who went with her party to Calais (Dec. 1648). G. Thorn Drury, in his "Introduction" to the "Muses Library" Edition of Waller, has some added information about this period:- in 1646, Waller was with Evelyn in Italy and Switzerland; in 1648, he was at the Pont de l' Arche, having left Rouen because of the plague; in April, 1649, he and his wife were back in Rouen; at the end of the year, they removed to Paris." Vol. I, p. LIX.

2. John Evelyn, "Diary." Vol. I, p. 253.

3. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 279.

4. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 286.

5. "Biographia Britannica." Vol. VII, p. 4109.

of Trade.¹ This concludes his life of exile.

Thus, in general, the majority of these Cavalier poets were assiduous in every way possible for the triumph of the royal plans; all engaged in journeys and diplomatic intrigues for that purpose. Waller, alone, seemed unwilling to bear the same sufferings as his compatriots in exile. Unmoved by the vicissitudes of fortune, which gave his friends such joy or despair, he spent his time in luxury in Paris, or on a pleasure trip through Italy, France, and Switzerland.

Except Waller, these poets were alike in the vital part they played in continental Royalist politics; all were men of action. Their lives were in a continual turmoil of excitement; not a day passing in which they were not confronted by the success of plans well wrought or by the appalling disasters of those which had failed. As a result, the effects of such interests and activities changed in every way what would have ordinarily been the daily trend of their lives.

1. Ibid. Vol. VII, p. 4109. This account and that of Johnson, "Lives of the Poets," Vol. I, p. 269, report Waller as being very intimate with Cromwell after his return.

CHAPTER IV.

DIRECT UTILIZATIONS OF EXPERIENCES IN EXILE AND
TRAVEL AS REVEALED IN THE WRITINGS OF THE
CAVALIER POETS.

Considering the fact that Cowley, D'Avenant, Denham, and Waller, were so closely connected with the interests of the Royalists in exile and were exposed to such a variety of life upon the continent, one would suppose that their writings would reveal certain definite effects of these experiences. Of these effects, two are predominant:- one is the direct utilization of actual happenings in exile, and the allusions to places visited, or to the life undergone by the writers as exiles; the other, supposed rather than actual, is a more subtle effect to be traced in their thinking, feeling, view of life, and loyalty to the cause. Both of these effects are observable in varying degrees of prominence in the four writers under discussion.

In tracing the first of these two effects the poets may be listed in the order of their relative un-importance as follows, Waller, Cowley, D'Avenant, and Denham. Waller has few poems related to his exile; Cowley has about five of minor importance; D'Avenant has several of minor importance and one large composition, "The Rutland House Entertainment", which is based entirely upon his experiences as an exile; while Denham, more than any other, has in several instances used actual travels and experiences as the subject matter of particular poems.

EDMUND WALLER

Waller's use of his foreign experiences may be considered almost negligible as compared with that of the entire group. The poem, "To Sir William D'Avenant upon his two first books of Gondibert", though a foreign composition, contains nothing pertinent to the composer's exile and travel.

A Second poem, "To My Lady Morton on New-Years day, at the Louvre in Paris", tells of an event of Waller's exile. This was the abduction of Henrietta Maria, youngest daughter of Charles I, by Lady Morton,

"Who from our Fleming Troy, with a bold hand,
Snatch'd her fair charge, the Princess like a brand."¹
"So fled the dame, and o'er the ocean bore
Her princely burden to the Gallic shore!"

In recounting this heroic act, Waller reveals something of his own attitude at the time:

"This gallant act may cancell all our rage,
Begin a better, and absolve this age.
Dark shades become the portrait of our time;
Here weeps misfortune, and there triumphs crime."¹

These are all the obvious references to his exile and travel which may be found .

To this last statement, however, there is one possible exception. "The Battle of the Summer Islands" (1645) is thought to be the direct result of a trip taken by Waller in 1640, shortly before his exile. The facts of the problem are these. For some time, Waller courted the obdurate Lady Dorothy Sidney in a series of

1. Edmund Waller, "Poems." Ed. 1744, p. 104, 105, 104.

verses dedicated to "Sacharissa." The Lady Dorothy, unmoved by this impassioned writing, married Lord Spenser in 1639. Previously, Waller, realizing the hopelessness of his suit, speaks of a voyage in his poem, "At Penshurst:"

"Ah cruel nymph! from whom her humble swain
Flies for relief unto the raging main,
And from winds, and tempests, does expect
A milder fate, than from her cold neglect."¹

This stanza, coupled with the appearance of the "Summer Island" poem with its reference to Sacharissa at the end of Canto I,² led his early biographers to believe that he had made the trip to the Bermudas with his friend, the Earl of Warwick, in whose property on the island, the scene of the poem is supposedly laid. Waller's annotator, Fenton, thinks the poet may have gone to Bermuda, and that he was probably an owner of land there.³ Dr. Johnson says of the theory, "his biographers from his poem on the whales, think it not improbable that he visited the Bermudas; but it seems much more likely, that he should amuse himself with forming an imaginary scene, than that so important an incident as a visit to America, should have been left floating in conjectural probability."⁴ Of this, "Biographia Britannica", (Volume VII, page 4102), says, "It is generally reported that he was a proprietor of the Summer Islands." The rest of its account agrees with the theory that Waller accompanied his friend, the Earl of Warwick, to that place. The most

1. Edmund Waller, "Poems." Ed. 1744. p. 43.

2. Ibid. p. 54.

3. Ibid. p. LXXXV.

4. Samuel Johnson, "Lives of the Poets." Ed. 1905. Vol. I, p. 254

recent light on the problem is cast by Edmund Gosse, who believes that Waller was one of the proprietors of the islands but that, due to the efforts of major general Lefroy, who has written the history of the Bermudas, there is no evidence of such a voyage. Gosse's conviction is that "he no more reached Bermuda than George Herbert or Bishop Berkeley did."¹ The problem does not seem to be soluble, because of the absence of sufficient proof. That Waller may have been a proprietor of a portion of the summer islands seems possible. But that, he ever made an actual trip to the region is highly conjectural; general probabilities and theory tend to refute the idea of such a journey.

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

Cowley's use of the incidents of his life while in Europe is almost as slight as that of Waller. Unlike Waller, he has, however, many more poems which may be definitely assigned as compositions written in exile. Unlike Waller, too, his references to travel and exile, though comparatively speaking, few, are nevertheless of a much more specific character and of a less transient interest. They also differ from Waller's in indicating a greater personal reaction on the part of the writer.

Of Cowley's poems, the "Miscellanies" and "Anacreontiques" were probably composed during his exile, but contain little that throws any light upon the poet's travels. Of the former group, three are known to have been directly based on occurrences

1. Edmund Gosse, "From Shakespeare to Pope." Ed. 1896. pp. 62-63.

of Cowley's exile. The first is "To Sir William D'Avenant, upon his two first books of Gondibert, finished before his voyage to America", in which Cowley says nothing about his own life as an exile. The second poem, "On the death of Mr. Crashaw", is equally enigmatic in the same respect. The third, "An answer to a Copy of Verses sent me to Jersey", has some slight references to the poet's experiences; no doubt, Cowley wrote this poem, while on one of those expeditions to that Island, which were mentioned in the preceding Chapter. His impressions of Jersey are shown in the following quotations:

" . . . You must know,
Sir, that verse does not in this island grow
No more than Sack; one lately did not feare
(Without the Muse's leave) to plant it here,
But it produc'd such base, rough crabbed hedge,
Rhymes, as ev'n set the bearers' ears on edge. . .¹

He expresses his difficulty in writing poetry in Jersey, for-

"Alas, to men here, no words less hard be,
To rhyme with, than Mount Orgueil is to me.
'Mount Orgueil, which in scorn o'th' Muses' law
With no yoke-fellow Word will dain to draw.¹"
Even more autobiographic are the following lines:
"Yet this I'll say for th' honor of the place,
That by God's extraordinary Grace,
(which shows the people' have judgment, if not wit)
The land is undefiled by clinches yet.
Which in my poor opinion, I confess,
Is a most singular blessing and no less
Than Ireland's wanting Spiders, And so farre,¹
From the' actual sin of Bombast too they are,¹
(That other crying sin 'oth' English Muse)
That even Satan himself can accuse
None here (no not so much as the Divines)
For th' motus primo' primi to strong lines."

1. Abraham Cowley, "Works." Vol. I, pp. 144-145.

Cowley is also probably reflecting on what he had once seen, when he writes, "If you should see a man who was to cross from Dover to Calais, run about very busie and sollicitous, and trouble himself many weeks before in making provisions for his voyage, would you commend him for a cautious or discreet person. . . ?"¹

That Cowley did not relish his experiences is evident, for in "The Book Humbly presenting itselfe to the Universitie Librarie at Oxford" is expressed the thought,

"Ah, yt my author had been tyed like mee,
To such a place, and such a companie!
Instead of severall countries, severall men,
And business w^{ch} ye Muses bate!"²

Though these experiences were unpleasant, they at least taught him to believe in the divinity of the cause for which he had struggled, for he says of the Stuart family, that if one had seen,

"How through a rough Red-sea they had been led,
By wonders guarded, and by wonders fed,
How many years of trouble and distress,
They'd wandred in their fatal wilderness,
And yet did never murmur or repine;
Might (me thinks) plainly understand,
That after all these conquered tryals past,
Th' Almighty Mercy would, at last,
Conduct them, with a strong unerring hand,
To their own Promis'd land."³

Cowley speaks more directly of his experiences in his most autobiographic poem, "The Complaint", in which the muse denounces him:

"Thou, changling, thou be witch'd with noise and show,
Woulds't into Courts and Cities from me go;
Wouldst see the world abroad, and have a share

1. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 336.

2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 156.

3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 161.

In all the follies, and the tumults there;
 Thou wouldst, forsooth, be something in a state,
 And business thou wouldst find and wouldst create."¹

With a sigh of relief at the conclusion of this life, the poet speaks of his return to England,

"Behold the publick storm is spent at last,
 The sovereign is toast at sea no more,
 And thou, with all the noble companie,
 Art got at last to shore."¹

After the Restoration, Cowley, in defending himself against the charge of disloyalty, said that his "Cutter of Coleman Street" was not a satire upon the royalists or "against the King's party:-
 "Good God! Against the King's party? After having served it twenty years during all the time of their misfortunes and afflictions, I must be a very rash and imprudent person if I chose out that of their restitution to begin a quarrel with them."²

Of his knowledge of these preceding experiences, Cowley makes use most extensively in Book VI of "Sylva"³. In this book, after describing various trees, he turns to the oak, in which Prince Charles after his defeat at Worcester was compelled to hide to escape his pursuers. With this incident as a bond of connection, Cowley launches into a detailed description of all that had happened between Charles I's reign and the Restoration. All of the events described are so specific and possess such verisimilitude that they are directly traceable to Cowley's experiences with the exiled royalists' cause. In fact, the composition of the en-

1. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 169.

2. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 175.

3. Ibid. Vol. II, pp. 251-258.

tire "Plantarum", of which the "Sylva" is a part, was a secondary result of conditions arising from Cowley's foreign experiences. Upon his return to England, in order to dissemble his real purposes as a royal spy, he took up the study of medicine. "To this purpose", says Sprat, "after many anatomical dissections, he proceeded to the consideration of Simples; and having furnish'd himself with books of that nature, he retir'd into a fruitful part of Kent, where every field and wood might shew him the real figures of those plants, of which he had read. Thus he speedily master'd that part of the art of medicine. But then, as one of the ancients did before him in the study of the law, instead of employing his skill for practice and profit, he presently digested it into the form which we behold"¹ In similar fashion the "Pindarics", Sprat thinks, were also secondary effects of his travel period, for he first became interested in the form "in a place, where he had no other books to direct him", probably Jersey.²

Except for these evidences, given previously, Cowley made little direct use of his travels; in this respect, he was one of the least important of this entire group of poets. But in the subtler psychological and emotional effects of travel, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter, he was the most important. For these two reasons, there is considerable relationship between D'Avenant, and Cowley. D'Avenant was seemingly but little more responsive to the direct experiences of his exile than the latter. But, as with Cowley, he shows similar psychological effects in his tendencies toward introspection and a desire for retirement

1. Thomas Sprat, "Cowley." (Ed. 1684) p. XV.

2. Ibid. p. XII.

although to a much lesser extent.

SIR WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

In the case of D'Avenant, the number of poems written while abroad is even less than in that of Cowley. "Gondibert" is the only poem which can be definitely placed in the time of exile. Except in the romantic character of this poem, removed as it is from the actualities of every day life, no relations between its content and the author's experiences can be seen. It was probably a task assumed to pass away some of the tedium of exile, for, according to the "Biographia Britannica," its author was no doubt one of those "who laboured to silence the storm of their sorrows by some kind of amusement; his were literary; and the desire he had of writing an heroic poem, meeting with much leisure, and some encouragement, led him to undertake one of a new kind, the two first books of which he finished at the Louvre. . ."¹ In the entire poem, but two passages sound at all reminiscent of the author's experiences as an exile. Of Sleep, D'Avenant says,

"It loves the cottage, and from the court abstains,
It stills the sea-man though the storm be high;
Frees the griev'd captive in his closest chains,
Stops want's loud mouth, and blinds the
treach'rous spleen!"²

The second passage is:

1. "Biographia Britannica." Vol. III, p. 1606.

2. Alexander Chalmers, "English Poets." Vol. VI, p. 391.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES

THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION
PUBLISHED WEEKLY
CHICAGO, ILL., MAY 1, 1919
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Published Weekly
Chicago, Ill.
Subscription Price, \$5.00 per Annum in Advance
Single Copies, 15 Cents
Entered as Second-Class Matter, May 2, 1912
Postoffice at Chicago, Ill., Paid
Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Act of October 3, 1917
Authorized Second-Class Mail Matter
Postpaid
Copyright, 1919, by American Medical Association
Printed at the American Medical Association, 535 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

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"Ah! how perverse and forward is mankind!,
 Faction in courts does us to rage excite;
 The rich in cities, we litigious find,
 And in the field th' ambitious makes us fight."¹

Two other poems, "A New Years Gift to the Queen, in the year 1643", and "To the queen; Entertained at Night in the year 1644", both probably foreign compositions, are purely personal; no travel influences are evident in them. One other poem, "The Plots," with its audacious satire on the "John of Leyden" was probably written while D'Avenant was abroad; its outspoken boldness places it early in Charles I's reign, or during D'Avenant's exile.

General evidence favors the latter period. In all other respects, except for occasional thoughts, there are no references of importance in D'Avenant's poetry to his exile.

One dramatic work, however, D'Avenant bases entirely on his foreign experiences. This is his "Rutland House Entertainment", (1656). It was the poet's first composition after his return to England, which ultimately led to the re-opening of the theatres. The characteristics of this entertainment were Parisian:- it was largely operatic; the arrangement of the orchestra was French; the embellishment by painted scenery was also of continental origin. These traits were all characteristic of the French plays which were popular during the time of D'Avenant's exile and were no doubt observed by him.²

The entertainment itself consists of two parts; the first

1. Ibid. p. 377.

2. Sir William D'Avenant, "Dramatic Works." Ed. 1873. Vol. III, p. 195.



being devoted to a discussion between Aristophanes and Diogenes as to the moral elements of dramatic performances; the second being a debate between a Londoner and a Parisian as to the comparative merits of their home cities. In the latter part of the entertainment, D'Avenant used many of his foreign observations and experiences. The Parisian criticizes the narrow streets of London, the heterogeneity of her architecture, the unappetizing character of her food. He attacks the assertion, (which was often made), that British servants feed better than Parisian masters. This, he answers with considerable asperity, "You allow your idleness and high nourishment to raise their mettle; which is, to make them rude for the honour of old England. We inure ours to labour and temperance, that we may alloy them; which is, to make them civil for the quiet of France. Yours drink wine, and the strong broth of malt, which makes them bold, hot, and adventurous to be soon in command."¹ To this marked attack, the Londoner, with equal acidity, and, if anything, with even more vigor, gives the retort courteous paying the Parisian with coin of his own making. It is in the Londoner's speeches that D'Avenant's personal reactions are shown to Paris, which he knew so thoroughly from his exile. The manner in which the Londoner describes his approach to Paris is no doubt reminiscent of what D'Avenant had experienced. He says, "Give me leave, Monsieur de Paris, to be conducted from Dieppe by one of your messengers - who are as magisterial on the road as old rangers in a forest, --- and on my Norman Nag -- which,

1. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 218.

though it has not as many legs as a caterpillar, yet by the advantage of being well spurred, makes shift to travel as fast --- I enter your city at Porte St. Marin."¹ Speaking of the Parisian streets, the Londoner betrays a knowledge too accurate not to have been based on observation; "your ancestors and you had different minds; for though lae Rue St. Antoine, St. Honoré, and St. Denis are large enough for the Vista; yet lae Rue Tirechape, La Tanneric, and la Huchette stand so much in the shade that there your beautiful wives need neither veils nor fans."² He confesses himself unimpressed by the Louvre, whose fame consists "more in the vast design of what it was meant to be, than in the largeness of what it is."³ He comments upon the boatman, standing "sullen as an old Dutch skipper after shipwreck", upon his method of ferrying passengers, "all standing during the voyage as if we were ready to land as soon as we put from shore." Speaking of the landing with a disgust, no doubt echoing a similar feeling of distaste upon the part of D'Avenant, the Londoner continues, "We neither descend by stairs when we come in, nor ascend when we go out, but crawl through the mud like crayfish, or anglers in a new plantation."⁴ In reply to the Parisian's attacks on London streets, he criticizes "the frequent insurrections" in theirs.

1. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 222.

2. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 223.

3. Ibid. Vol. III. p. 223.

4. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 224.

"In ours", he says, "a few disturb the quiet of coaches; but in yours, whole armies of lackies invade the peace of public justice."¹ The French festival of Twelfth Night "with the universal shout of 'Le Roy boit!'" made him think "the whole vintage of France was in the heads of the servants of Paris."¹ The "Hotel de Venise," a favorite sojourning center for Englishers, is also mentioned as well as the "Pont Neuf, where robbing is as constant and hereditary a trade as amongst the Arabs."¹ Throughout the entire entertainment, there are many other such direct references to conditions in France.

SIR JOHN DENHAM.

Sir John Denham, more than Waller, Cowley, and D'Avenant, has made direct use of his own experiences in considerable detail. In "On My Lord Crafts and My Journey into Poland", Denham tells how he and his friend visited Poland, where they collected 10,000 pounds from the King's Scottish subjects,² His experiences in the collection were none too easy, for the Scotch would "neither lead

1. Ibid. Vol. III, p. 227.

2. Dr. Birkbeck Hill in his edition of Johnson's "Life of Denham" has a foot note letter from Milton on Feb. 6, 1649-50 to the Senate of Dantzic:- "Many letters are brought to us from our Merchants trading upon the coast of Borussia, wherein they complain of a grievous tribute imposed upon them in the grand council of the Polanders, enforcing them to pay the tenth part of all their goods for the relief of the King of Scots, our enemy" Vol. I, p. 73.

nor drive."

"Nor assist our affairs,
With their monies nor their wares,
As their answer now declares,¹
But only with their prayers".¹

This tribute was probably levied, writes D. Johnson, on those Scotchmen in Poland, who made a business of pedalling wares to the rural families too far apart for them to get without difficulty "those little necessaries which it was very inconvenient to want, and very troublesome to fetch".² The entire poem, describing this event, was probably one of those which Denham, himself says, were used "to put off the evil hours of our banishment."³ The rest of the poem in its full significance is difficult to explain, owing to our ignorance of some of the historic conditions of the loan. At least, Denham seems to desire to say that, after the necessary funds were voted, despite opposition:

"A letter they came by
From our King's majesty.
But fate
Brought the letter too late,
'T was of too old a date,⁴
To relieve their damned state."

According to the account, if this letter had arrived sooner, the messengers would have been "touch'd to the quick" and

1. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684. pp. 67-68.

2. Samuel Johnson, "Lives of the English Poets." Ed. G.B. Hill 1905. Vol. I, pp. 73-74.

3. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684. p. III.

4. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684. p. 69.

"Had it later been wrought
 And sooner been brought,
 They had got what they sought,¹
 But now it serves for nought."

The Second poem based on an incident of Denham's experiences in exile is that "On Mr. Tho. Killigrew's Return from his Embassy from Venice, and Mr. William Murrey's from Scotland." The circumstances from which this arose were as follows:- Thomas Killigrew in 1651 was appointed by King Charles II to be his resident in Venice. Because of the high handed manner in which he borrowed money, both for his own and his prince's needs, and because of his dissipations, he was recalled in June 1652, upon complaint of the Venetian minister in Paris.² Murray, also referred to in the poem, was a prominent royalist supporting both Charles the First and his son; he was particularly active in adjusting relations between Scotland and the King's³ party. The poem gives little information as to the events connected with its composition in general. It is a satiric thrust at both the men:- Killigrew is characterized as "Our Resident Tom", who "from Venice is come" and "hath left the statesman behind him;"⁴ Murray and Satan are identified in terms not complimentary to the former. Denham says of both;

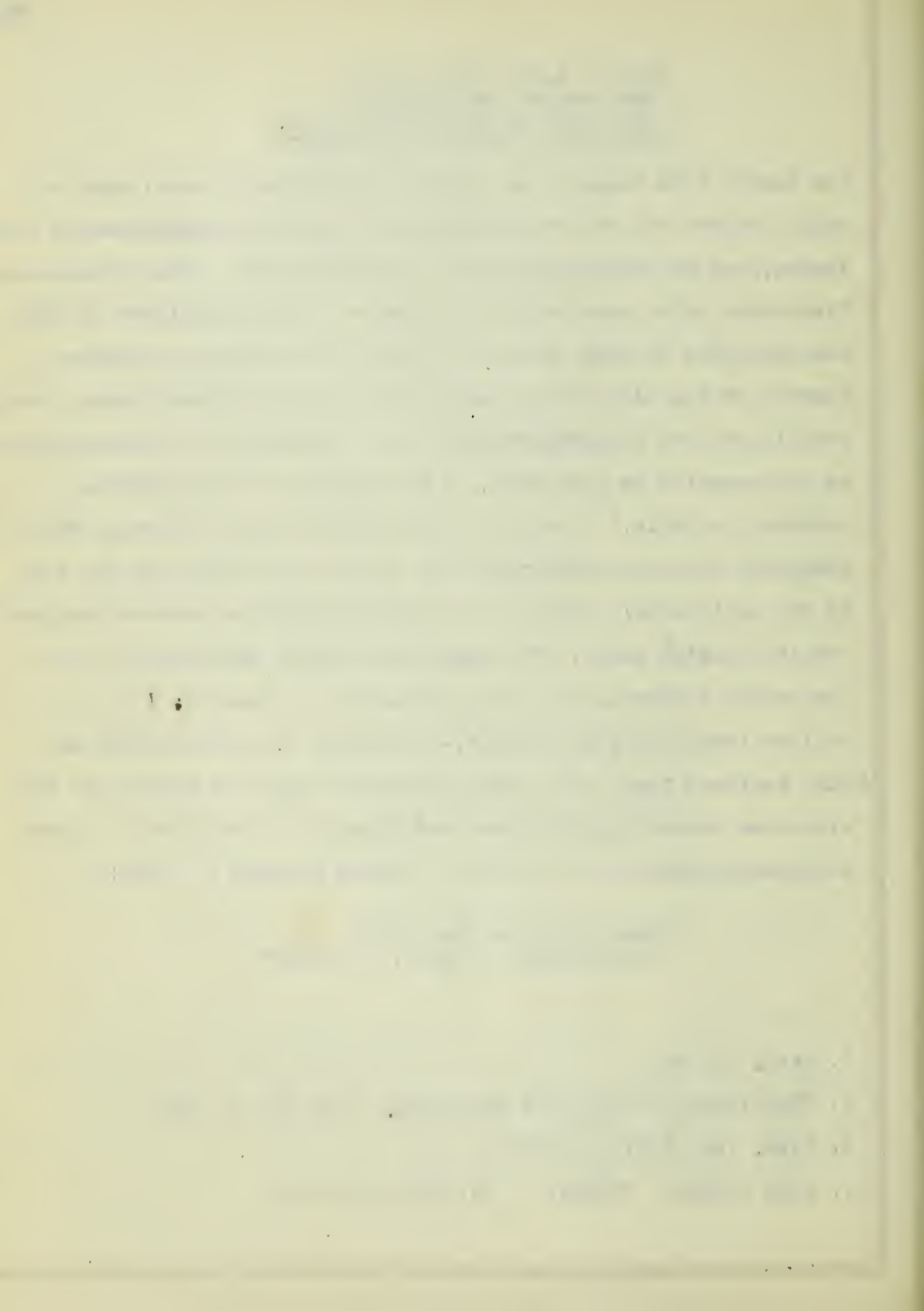
"How little do they think
 Of Banishment, debts, or dying?"

1. Ibid. p. 70.

2. "Dictionary of National Biography." Vol. XI, p. 112.

3. Ibid. Vol. XIII, p. 1305.

4. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684, pp. 70.



"Mirth makes them not mad,
 Nor sobriety sad;
 But of that they are seldom in danger;
 At Paris, at Rome,
 At the Hague, they are at home;
 The good-fellow is no where a stranger."¹

The last poem showing any travel influence is that "To Sir John Mennis being invited from Calice to Bologna to eat a pig", written while Denham was in France. It is probably another one of those light occasional poems written for the entertainment of the exiled court. In the second stanza of the poem, in a marginal note, Denham refers to "We three riding in a cart from Dunkirk to Calice with a fat Dutch woman." The three must have been Sir John Mennis, "Will Aubrey, Count of Oxon", and Denham. The accompanying discomforts of the journey in the cart are mentioned; the author amusingly hints that such unpleasantness as riding in a cart in wet weather must have been for some important purpose. The conclusion follows:

"To a goodly fat Sow's baby,
 Oh John, thou hadst a malice,
 The old driver of swine,
 That day sure was thine,
 Or thou hadst not quitted Calice."²

His last poem is "Friendship and Single Life against Love and Marriage", which, according to Edmund Gosse, was written while Denham was exiled.³ This poem, devoted to a praise of single life as compared with the distractions caused by love, has but one or two references, which may have been upon Denham's exile and travel. The first is:

1. Ibid. p. 72.

2. John Denham, "Poems" Ed. 1684, p. 76.

3. Edmund Gosse, "From Shakespeare to Pope." Ed. 1896, p. 113.

"How happy he that loves not, lives!
Him neither hope nor fear deceives,
To Fortune who no hostage gives.

How unconcern'd in things to come!
If here uneasie, finds at Rome,
At Paris, or Madrid his home.

"Secure from low, and private ends,
His life, his zeal, his wealth attends
His prince, his country, and his friends."¹

From the foregoing evidence, based on a complete survey of the writings of the four poets, it is clear that effects of actual experiences in exile and travel, though of a rather unimportant character, are nevertheless apparent. Waller, in typically indifferent fashion, made little use of his experiences; he was interested not in portraying what he himself endured, but in obsequiously flattering others, who might be of assistance to him. Cowley's reactions to travel were rather psychological than literary; his utilizations of experiences were largely of an indirect and occasional character. D'Avenant's poetry, except for its rather pronounced romantic atmosphere, is as uninfluenced as Waller's; in its introspective elements, it resembles much of Cowley's. His "Rutland House", in its attempts to interest, chooses a subject of continual appeal to the English, the comparative merits of the French and British peoples; by this, life and color are given to the performance, through detailed descriptions of the Londoner's attitude toward Paris and Vice Versa. Denham, unlike

1. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684, p. 83.

the others, seemed to have gained pleasure from his exile, for the events which he uses are largely of a humorous character; they are much more specific and autobiographic than the poems of either Cowley, Waller, or D'Avenant, and indicate a tendency on the part of the writer to cast aside his worries and to indulge in whatever pleasures were at hand. His was a jovial spirit, contented in any place and in any type of life.

CHAPTER V.

THE EFFECTS OF FOREIGN TRAVEL AND EXILE
UPON THE THOUGHTS, FEELINGS, AND
CHARACTERS OF THE CAVALIER POETS.

Of the two possible effects of travel and exile upon the poets, Cowley, D'Avenant, Denham, and Waller, the second is the more subtle and hence the more difficult to analyze. It is that gradual psychological development in their characters, which must have resulted from their life abroad. Such a change is but natural, for few men could pass through the experiences of these poets, who endured the continued buffetings of a capricious fortune, and come out with characters entirely unaffected. Such evident changes are present in the lives of the poets upon their return to England, as can only be explained by the assumption of certain formative influences exerted by the sufferings of exile.

Though all four poets show these psychological effects of sufferings, some manifest the influence more than others. Upon this basis, as in the preceding chapter, the four writers may be placed, as they show these effects, in the following order of relative importance: Denham, D'Avenant, Waller, and Cowley. Of this group, Denham's character was but slightly influenced; he was the same debonair courtier after the Restoration as before. In similar fashion, D'Avenant seems to have been almost as unaffected by what he had undergone as Denham. This relationship between the two is rather interesting, for, in the preceding chapter, both were shown utilizing the actual experiences of their

exile and travel in a detailed and specific form and, as compared with Cowley and Waller, were much more responsive, probably because of the less introspective and morbid character of their thinking. In this chapter, however, the contrast becomes even more apparent, although of the opposite type, for they are much less affected psychologically than either Waller or Cowley. The two latter poets show by their writings that their thinking, feeling, and even character, were greatly changed by exile. Cowley, in particular, seems to have changed more than the other three.

SIR JOHN DENHAM.

As the least important of this group of poets in his psychological and emotional responses to exile, Denham's position is difficult to analyze; it is almost an enigma. But, in general, we may find an even tenor of thought and feeling pervading all of his work. In only one or two instances are we able even to surmise his response. That he bore his sufferings with occasional feelings of melancholy, he tells us in his "Epistle Dedicatory to the King":- "You were pleased sometimes to give me arguments to divert and put off the evil hours of our banishment."¹ In no other part of his works does he refer to the disappointments and vicissitudes of his travels in exile. I believe, however, his general attitude must have been optimistic and free from melancholy. He probably made the best of whatever fluctuations of fortunes came upon him. His entire mental attitude is no doubt expressed in this stanza:

1. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684. p. III.

"These three when they drink,
 How little do they think
 Of Banishment, Debts, or Dying?
 Not old with their years,
 Nor cold with their fears;
 But their angry stars still defying."¹

This general attitude of indifference was also an obvious result of his experiences as a gambler; he probably believed that life, as with cards, was not a continued run of bad luck, but that periods of ill fortune would be inevitably followed by those of good. With this idea in mind, he was no doubt unmoved by momentary discomfitures, confident as he was in the ultimate triumph of good fortune.

In loyalty, he seems to have maintained the same even placidity of his way, unmoved by the apparent failure of the Stuart family; not once did he waver in his adherence to the cause. As a reward for his constant service, immediately after the Restoration, (June 1660), he was appointed Surveyor of His Majesty's Buildings, an office formerly held by the celebrated Inigo Jones. This honor would never have been conferred upon him, if at any time, there had ever been the slightest question about his faithfulness to his prince; Denham proves his loyalty when he writes, "after, when your Majesty departing from St.Germayns to Jersey, was pleased freely (without my asking) to confer upon me that place wherein I have now the honour to serve you."¹

1. Ibid. p. 72, p. 111.

SIR WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

In almost similar fashion, D'Avenant was as unimportant and enigmatic in his responses to his exile as Denham. The mere fact, however, that in 1641, he began to compose the cumbrous "coach of wonders", "Gondibert", was in itself significant. As hinted in a previous Chapter (III), it is decidedly suggestive that a man of such intimate relationships with his times, who in his previous writings composed poems to particular people or around specific events, should now in the midst of his exile turn his attention to a poem in every way the antipodes of his former works. It is certainly strange that he should plan so laboriously in the excitements of his life on the continent a poem, whose plot was totally foreign to the realities of life; whose characters were highly idealized; whose atmosphere was almost tropical in its romanticism, quite in contradistinction to a life of abundant vicissitudes and reversals of fortune. In Chapter II, a quotation explaining this was given; it supposes "Gondibert" to have been one of the poems written "to silence the storm of their sorrow by some kind of amusement," Professor Bernbaum in one of his lectures on D'Avenant gives also credence to the belief that such a poem, so different from the life of the exile period, served to distract its author from the worries and unpleasant realities of the life about him. Edmund Waller's poetic introduction to "Gondibert" serves to substantiate the same theory:

"The drooping Hebrews banish'd harps unstrung,
 At Babilon, upon the Willows hung;
 Yoursounds aloud, and tells us you excell
 No less in courage, than in singing well;
 Whilst unconcern'd you let your country know,
 They have improv'rish'd themselves, not you
 Who with the Muses help can mock those fates
 Which threaten kingdoms, and disorder states.
 So Ovid when from Caesar's rage he fled,
 The Roman Muse to Pontus with him led."1

D'Avenant, himself, speaks on this same subject in his postscript to "Gondibert; it is very illuminating:-"Poesie was that harp of David, which remov'd from Saul the melancholy spirit, that put him in a continual remembrance of the Revolution of empire." Though not conclusive evidence, this may be thought fairly indicative of his whole aim in centering his attention upon a poem like "Gondibert", while in France.²

In another respect, D'Avenant's desire to colonize America is significant in giving some idea of his response to his exile. It is difficult to imagine an active, pleasure loving courtier, such as D'Avenant was, voluntarily giving up his court-life, and going with a group of bourgeois, or men selected from the prisons, to a wild and barbarous land, unless it is thought that he was driven to despondency or disgust by the life about him. It seems on the surface to indicate a desire on the part of the poet to pass to a place of uncorrupted naturalness, away from the unscrupulous intrigues and artificialities of a court in exile; it may also indicate a feeling on his part as to the fruitlessness of the royal plottings. Perhaps an even greater

1. Sir William D'Avenant, "Works." Ed. 1673. p.38.

2. Ibid. p. 197.

motivation for this desire for retirement is to be found in the discomforts which he suffered in Paris upon the appearance of his carefully fostered literary child, "Gondibert"; expecting the laudation of a pleased court, he was, instead, attacked by a rack-
ing fire of jest and satiric laughter."¹ Thus, "Fame", however, was so thin a diet, that Sir Willia D'Avenant was willing to venture into any climate that promised a better, yet, like a worthy man, he had a view to his country's good, while he consulted his own."²

After his capture, D'Avenant began his third book of "Gondibert" at Cowes Castle on the Isle of Wight, but, fearing death, he broke off in the middle of the book, explaining why he did so in a postscript to the reader; October 22nd, 1650. In this, there is a decided air of melancholy of a philosophic type; he says, "But 'tis high time to strike sail, and cast anchor (though I have run but halfe my course) when at the helme I am threatened with Death; who, though he can visit us but once, seems troublesome; and even in the innocent may beget such a gravity, as diverts the Musick of verse."³ On the basis of his own experience, he sadly says that his aim in writing the poem was to secure fame by its composition, but, that several years ago, he had concluded that fame was "like a river, tis narrowest where tis bred, and broadest afarr off."⁴ In the same vein, the

1. Gerard Langbaine, "An Account of the English Dramatic Poets." Ed. 1691. pp. 112-114.

2. "Biographia Britannica." Vol. III, p. 1606.

3. D'Avenant, "Works" Ed. 1673, p. 196.

4. Ibid. p. 197.

following philosophizing seems decidedly reflective of the poet's reaction to his day: "Exemplary writers are wiser than to depend on the gratuities of this world; since the kind looks and praises of the present age, for reclaiming a few, are not mentionable with those solid rewards in Heaven, for a long and continual conversion of posterity." Except for this pervading sombreness and this tendency toward introspection, there are no other evidences of any effects from his exile and travel.

Of his loyalty, there is plenty of evidence to corroborate its steadfastness. His wife, Mary D'Avenant, in an address included in a posthumous edition of her husband's works (1673), begs Charles the Second to grant his protection to the edition, urging him to remember D'Avenant's services to his father, Charles, the First, his Queen Mother, and other members of the royal family.¹ D'Avenant himself, upon the King's Restoration, wrote three poems, all of which are indicative of his uninterrupted support of the exiled royalists in adversity:- one poem to General Monck lauds this personage for his contributions to the Restoration; another, "Upon His Most Sacred Majestie's Most Happy Return", praises the good qualities embodied in Charles II as ruler; the third, "To the King's Most Sacred Majesty," commends the sovereign's ability to rule so well in the midst of Sectarian dissensions.

1. Sir William D'Avenant, "Works." Ed. 1673. "To His Royal Highness."

EDMUND WALLER.

Waller's reactions to his exile were much more unusual than those of either Denham or D'Avenant; they served to reveal more clearly those latent qualities in his character of instability and vacillation, described in Chapter III. These traits appeared before his exile, when, under pretence of favoring the Parliamentarians in their claims for an observance of personal rights by the king, he was at the same time surreptitiously catering to the Royalists. The same weakness was again shown in his conference with the King at Oxford (February 1643) as a representative of Parliament; while at the same time, he was engineering plans for a revolt against the very body which had sent him. Even in this early period, he seemed unwilling to bear the possibility of adversity, always preferring in any case to have sufficient influence with both parties in order to be able always to gain favor with the one most dominant. In his continental life, he was equally self centered, spending his time in the luxurious pleasantries of eating, drinking, and entertaining, or in casually jaunting on a dilatory pleasure trip over Southern Europe, financed by the sale of his wife's jewels. We have also seen how, tired of his exile, he made overtures to Cromwell, ultimately leading to his return to his England, having, as he said, but one jewel left, "The Rump jewel". Thus it is to be observed that he clung only to the side which seemed to have the greatest chance of success. After his return, despite the fact that he had been banished from England because of his plot, and that he had been actively connected with the Royal cause in Europe, in typically obsequious fashion, he wrote

his "Panegyric on Cromwell." The sentiments, which he expresses, are paradoxical in the extreme, when one considers the voluntary precipitancy with which he had sought the more agreeable shores of France in 1641. He says of Cromwell,

"Hither th' oppressed shall henceforth resort
Justice to crave, and succour at your court."¹

In the following manner, he speaks of the cause, for which he had served,

"Let partial spirits still aloud complain:
Think themselves injur'd that they cannot reign;
And own no liberty, but where they may
Without controul upon their fellows prey."²

Again he says,

"When fate, or error, had our age misled,
And o'er this nation such confusion spread;
The only cure, which could from heav'n come down,
Was so much pow'r, and piety, in one."³

In the poem, "A War with Spain," the "turn coat" goes even farther in his attempts to ingratiate himself into favor; in this, he urges that the state be fixed by making Cromwell a crown; "With ermin clad, and purple, let him hold a royal sceptre, made of Spanish Gold."⁴ Upon the King Charles' Restoration, Waller had the audacity to compose a similar laudatory poem, "To the King upon his Majesties Happy Return," after having had his splendor "wrapt up, till now, in clouds of adverse fate." That he feels a trifle inconsistent

1. Waller, "Poems." Ed. 1744. p. 115.

2. Ibid. Ed. 1744. p. 114.

3. Ibid. p. 118.

4. Ibid. p. 124.

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is evidenced by his remark,

"Our guilt preserves us from th' excess of joy,
Which scatters spirits, and would life destroy."¹

With the most blatant impudence, he says,

"Offenders now, the Chiefest, do begin
To strive for grace, and expiate their sin."²

In similar fawning fashion are these lines,

"Like your Great Master, you the storm withstood,
And pitied those who love with frailty showed."³

Waller praises the prince for the wisdom which he has gained while abroad, and the manner in which, upon his return, he has pacified the country. The ideas expressed in this connection are almost the same as those of the "Panegyric," in fact not so good. This deficiency was noticed by King Charles after the Restoration, who, speaking to Waller about the matter, received the impudent answer that "Poets succeed better in fiction than in truth". Comparing a few of these ideas in the two poems, we find damaging evidences of the author's vacillation. For example, in the "Poem on the Restoration", Waller says,

"Faith, law, and piety (that banish'd train)⁴
Justice and truth, with you return again."

In the "Panegyric", page 114, he writes,

1. Waller, "Poems." Ed. 1694. p. 172.

2. Ibid. p. 175.

3. Ibid. p. 176.

4. Ibid. Ed. 1744. p. 129.

"Hither th' oppressed shall henceforth resort,
Justice to crave, and succour at your court."¹

There are numerous other comparisons, which could in similar manner be drawn. Even later in his "Epitaph on Colonel Charles Cavendish," Waller speaks of Cavendish having returned home, "where dark confusion did the nations hide, and where the juster, was the weaker, side."²

This tendency to be on the popular side seems to have been a characteristic of Waller's subsequent life, as well as of his exile, for Bishop Burnet speaks of him later as being one who wished to say in the House "that which should make him applauded; but he never laid the business of the house to heart, being a vain and empty, though a witty, man."³

ABRAHAM COWLEY.

In Cowley alone of this Cavalier group of poets, may be traced most completely the effects of travel and exile upon his character and feelings. Because of the frankly autobiographic character of much of his writing, one may find that he became very much disgusted with the life of a courtier and the "pomp and pageantry of power." Upon the King's Restoration, Cowley was frankly desirous of retiring from the trivialities of the world into the country, where he might enjoy the calm pleasures

1. Ibid. p. 114.

2. Ibid. Ed. 1744, p. 219.

3. Gilbert Burnet, "History of His Own Time." p. 259.

of solitude and of contemplative study, for he "had been present in many great revolutions, which in that tumultuous time disturb'd the peace of all our neighbor- states, as well as our own. He had nearly beheld all the splendor of the highest part of mankind. He had lived in the presence of Princes, and familiarly conversed with greatness in all its degrees, which was necessary for one that would contemn it aright."¹ "He had been perplexed with a long compliance to foreign manners. He was satiated with the arts of court; which sort of life, though his virtue had made innocent to him, yet nothing could make it quiet."² These were the immediate causes of his retirement from public life. Cowley, seems to have suffered some difficulties in retiring, because of a scarcity of means "by reason of his travels, and the afflictions of the party to which he adhered, which had put him quite out of all the roads of gain."³ Cowley confesses that his activity while abroad was contrary to the "original design" of his life, "thrown into much company, and no small business, and into a daily sight of greatness, both militant and triumphant (for that was the state then of the English and French courts) yet all this was so far from altering my opinion, that it only added the confirmation of reason to that which was before but natural inclination. I saw plainly all the paint of that kind of life, the nearer I came to it; and that beauty which I did not fall in love with, when, for ought I knew, it was real, was not like to bewitch or en-

1. Thomas Sprat, "Cowley's Works." Ed. 1684. p. VII-VIII.

2. Ibid. p. VIII.

3. Ibid. p. VIII.

tice me, when I saw that it was adulterate."¹ Dr. Johnson thinks this desire for retirement was not feigned. He says that after Cowley had been persecuted in two kingdoms; after he had spent his days and nights in ciphering; after he had later been imprisoned in his own country, he would no doubt "be willing enough to retire to some place of quiet and safety."² Even as early as 1656, in the preface to his poems, Cowley had expressed a desire to go to America in order "to forsake this world for ever, with all its vanities, and vexations," and to bring himself there "in some obscure retreat (but not without the consolation of letters and philosophy."³

Cowley, also, seems to have been moved to seek for consolations in the study of nature and philosophy, these interests in nature are revealed in his "Plantarum". His introspective runinations, so characteristic of the effect of his travels upon his life, are revealed in his delightful essays, which are philosophic treatments and consolations as to the transiency of life, greatness, and wealth, as compared with the pleasures of a simple life in an environment of beautiful nature, a life of pleasant obscurity, sweet contemplation, and uninterrupted solitude. These are but expansions of sentiments embodied in his earlier Pindaric

1. Abraham Cowley, "Works." (Chertsey Worthies Library). Vol. II, p. 340.

2. Johnson's, "Life of Cowley." Ed. 1905. Vol. I, p. 10.

3. Cowley, "Works." (Chertsey Worthies Lib.) Vol. I, p. CXXVIII. This was not a new idea with Cowley. It was first expressed in "The Vote" (1636), in which, he said, he wished to have "meanes too low for envy, for contempt too high" and

"My house a cottage more
Than palace, and should fitting bee
For all my use, no luxurie."

Cowley "Works." (Chertsey Worthies.) Vol. I, p. 26.

on "Destiny",

"And some are great, and some are small,
Some climb to good, some from good fortune fall.
Some wisemen, and some fools we call,
Figures, alas, of Speech, for Destiny plays us all:"¹

In "Of Obscurity", he praises the solitary type of life:- "For my part, I think it is, and that the pleasantest condition of life is in incognito. What a brave privilege is it to be free from all contentions, from all envying or being envy'd. . ." ²

He also felt, because of his alliance to the cause and because of his travels, that his poetry had never been as well developed as it should have been. Particularly is this feeling shown in his conversation with the muse in "The Complaint". The Muse accuses him as follows,

"When I resolv'd t' exalt thy anointed name,
Among the spiritual Lords of peaceful Fame;
Thou, changeling, thou, bewitch'd with noise and show,
Wouldst unto Courts and Cities from me go;
Wouldst see the world abroad, and have a share
In all the follies, and the tumults there."³

In "The Book Humbly Presenting Itselfe to the University Librarie at Oxford," Cowley expresses a similar feeling that his exile has ruined his muse. The "Book" is supposed to say that, if its author could have remained in one country, "instead of several countries," and could have improved the small store of talent, which nature had given him,

1. Cowley, "Works." (Chertsey Worthies) Vol. II, p. 21.

2. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 319.

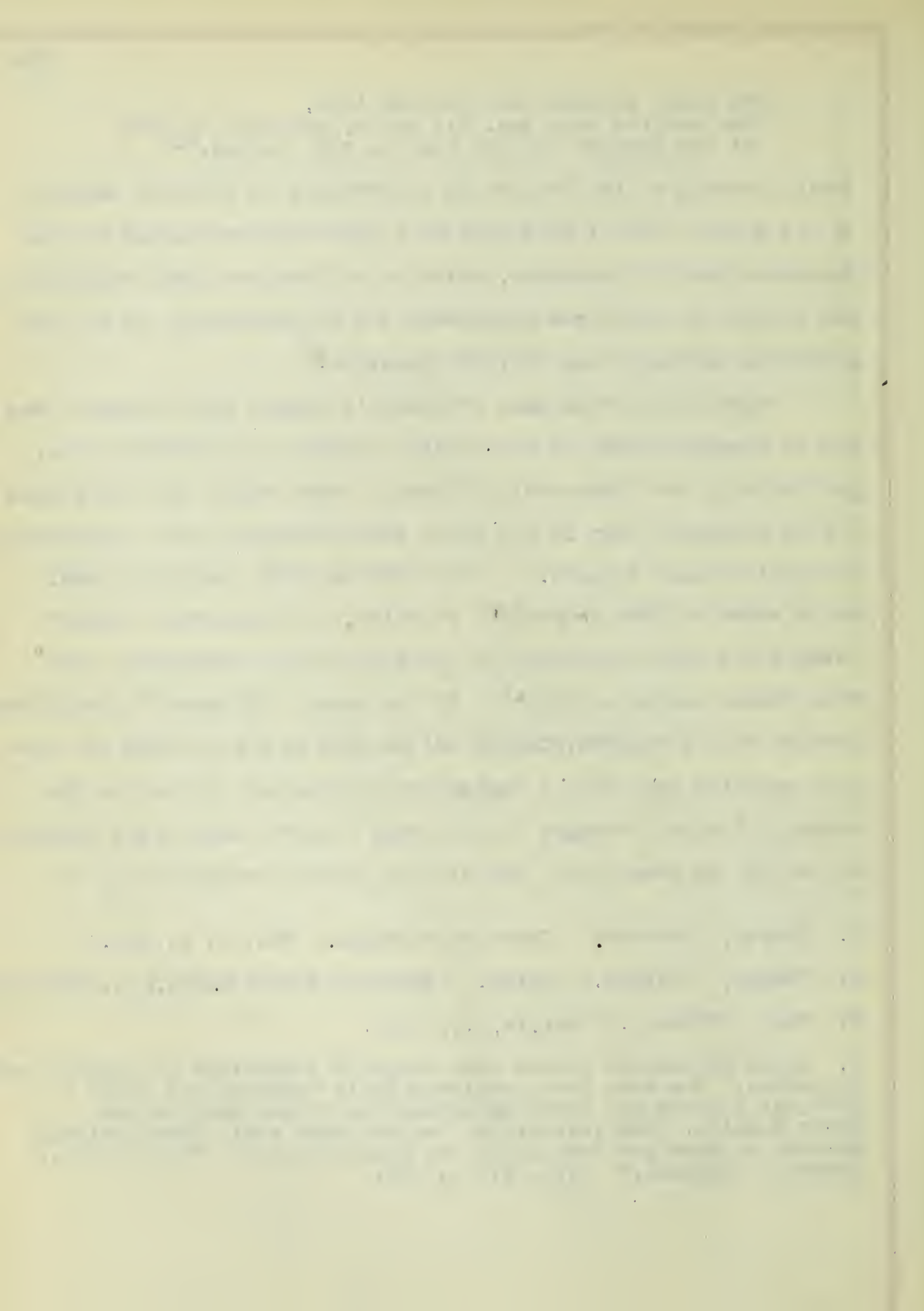
3. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 169.

"He might perhaps have thriven then,
And settled upon mee, his child, somewhat to live.
T' had happier bin for him, as well as mee."¹

Cowley reveals a like thought in his Preface to the 1656 edition of his works:- "If I have failed, I have the real excuse of the honestest sort of bankrupts, which is to have been made unsolvable, not so much by their own negligence and ill-husbandry, as by some notorious accidents and publike disasters."²

Wood thinks that most of Cowley's desire for retirement was due to disappointment in not getting rewards at the Restoration, particularly the "Mastership of Savoy," when others who had played a less prominent part in the royal cause received great remuneration for their former support.³ This was no doubt partially true, as is shown by "The Complaint", in which, the "Melancholy Cowley" bewails his non-recognition by the king "in the miraculous year" when "Manna rained on all."⁴ In the essay, "Of Myself", sensitive because of his neglect, Cowley writes that he never hoped for himself anything more than a "moderately convenient retreat in the country," which I thought in that case I might easily have compassed as well as some other, who with no greater probabilities or

1. Cowley, "Works" (Chertsey Worthies) Vol. I, p. 156.
2. Cowley, "Works." Intro. (Chertsey Worthies) Vol. I, p. CXXVIII.
3. Wood, "Fasti ." Vol. IV, p. 210 .
4. Agnes Strickland thinks that Cowley's complaints of neglect were unfounded. She says that Henrietta Maria "granted him lands for life, as soon as she obtained possession of any part of her dower domains. She gave him an income which would have enriched him but he died not long after the Restoration." "Lives of the Queens of England." Vol. IV, p. 326.



pretences have arriv'd to extraordinary fortunes."

The reason for Cowley's neglect was due to several circumstances. He had done some things, which, with considerable justice, had caused the Royalists to doubt his perfect loyalty. In the first place, he had returned to England in 1656, and, with the consent of the Commonwealth, had taken up the study of medicine, for "he believed it would be a meritorious service to the King, if any man who was known to have followed his interest, could insinuate into the usurpers' minds that men of his principles were now willing to be quiet, and could persuade the poor oppressed Royalists to conceal their affections,¹ for better occasions." For this same purpose of deception, he is supposed to have incorporated the words into his preface of 1656, which were taken so much exception to among the royalists. The unpopular lines² were these:- "Now though in all civil dissensions, when they break into open hostilities, the war of the pen is allowed to accompany that of the sword, and every one is in a manner obliged with his tongue, as well as Hand, to serve and assist one side which he engages in; yet when the event of battel, and the unaccountable Will of God has determined the controversie, and that we have submitted to the conditions of the conqueror, we must lay down our pens as well as arms, we must march out of our cause itself, and dismantle that , as well as our Town and castles, of all the works and fortifications of wit and reason by which we defended it. We ought not sure, to begin ourselves to revive the

1. Thomas Sprat, "Life" in "Cowley's Works." Ed. 1684. p.VI.

2. Cowley, "Works." "Preface to 1656. Edition (Chertsey Worthies Library) Vol. I, p. CXXVIII.

remembrance of those times and actions for which we have received a general amnestie, as a favor from the Victor." Recent scholarship has secured additional evidence tending to prove that Cowley, worn out by "exile, had tended to vacillate in this preface. These evidences were found by C.H.Firth from the Carte Mss., in the Bodleian Library and are in the form of letters between Cowley and the Marquis of Ormonde, who, in 1659, was endeavoring to intercede with the king in favor of the former. In the first letter, written by Cowley, the poet avers that the lines in the preface were interpreted contrary to his thought, but since "it seems they are capable of being understood otherwise, then I meant them, I am willing to acknowledge and repent them as an errour," hoping that his majesty in clemency will "pardon the slip of that man's pen in one expression, who calls Almighty God to witness that hee never did, spoak, or thought anything to the prejudice either of his Majestie's person or interests."² Cowley then pleads for Ormonde's intercession with Charles. The next letter from the Marquis of Ormonde to Mr. Cowley, Bruxells, Jan. 17, 1660, urges that if another than the pernicious interpretation of the lines be possible, that this be scattered as broadcast as the original, or else that the original be recanted." The next letter from

1. In a letter of a contemporary Daniel O'Neill to Charles II, London, March 8, 1654, there is some interesting light on this question. He says, "Some days before I came to my house at Dapping (Dover) there was Mr. Billing (D. of Buckingham) come from Fitham (France). There one of Mr. Corf's (Cromwell's) men met him; they stayed six howers together. I do believe their meeting was not for your advantage, Soone after they parted. Mr. Billings (D. of Buck.) returned from whence he came. The man that makes this good intelligence between them is Mr. Juxley's (Lo. Jermyn's) clerke with the redd head. You know him; he is a poet and a malicious enemy of yours. I desire you not to be startled. . . ." Nicholas Papers; (Camd. Soc. Publ.) N.S. Vol. XL, p. 219.

2. C.H.Firth, "Academy" Vol. XLIV, p. 296.

Jermyn to the Marquis of Ormonde from Paris, Feb. 19, thanks the latter for what he has done for Cowley and expresses an opinion that Cowley in writing his preface "had noe mallice". He hopes that "this letter will furnish you the means of finishing that whiche you have begun that I might have the liberty to imploy him and the help of his service, for I really want it for the good of the King's, if I be good for anything in it. . . ." The last letter from Cowley to the Marquis, Paris, March 2, 1660, thanks Ormonde for his intercession, "I hope to kisse his Majestye's hands about a month hence at London." He concludes with an expression of his suffering in the realization of his disfavor with the king, saying that "the taking away of his activity in the King's service" took away . . . all ye comfort of my life, soe I believe if it had continued, my life itself would not have bin proof against it." J.H.B. Masterman, in his "Age of Milton", also thinks that Cowley wavered in his loyalty. He says, "in the preface to the volume above referred to, there is observable a change of tone which was probably the outcome of a conviction arrived at by personal observation, that the Puritan ascendancy was likely to be permanent."

As additional reasons for disfavor with the Royalists were Cowley's ode, "Brutus", glorifying the efforts of a notorious rebel to monarchical authority, and his "Cutter of Coleman Street", accused of being a biting satire against the Cavalier party. To this latter accusation, Cowley pens a defense in his Preface to the "Cutter", saying that after having served the "King's Party" for "twenty years during all the time of their mis-

fortunes and afflictions, I must be a very rash and imprudent person, if I chose out that of their restitution to begin a quarrel with them." It was for the above reasons, that Cowley was for a time passed by at the Restoration, although later he was enabled to retire to a small estate in Chertsey by the assistance of the Duke of Buckingham and Lord Jermyn.

Summarizing, it is apparent that all of these Cavalier poets were affected in some way by their travels. Denham's experiences made him optimistically indifferent to misfortune; D'Avenant's strengthened his qualities of steadfastness and dependability; Waller's made more predominant his old habits of vacillation and inability to bear suffering and unpleasantness; Cowley's changed him from a perfect courtier to a perfect recluse, and showed him to be a man unable to bear continued and unrelieved blows of ill fortune without at last weakening.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSION:- "THE LOST OPPORTUNITY OF THE CAVALIER POETS."

The Effects of Exile and foreign Travel were exemplified in the lives and writings of all the Cavalier poets, Cowley, D'Avenant, Denham, and Waller. In the first place, these poets, thrown into experiences which were contrary to the original plans of their lives, both before and after their withdrawal to the continent, adapted themselves to these changes of whatsoever kind with equal facility. In the second place, their differing types of personality responded to the unpleasant vicissitudes of their exile and travel in ways characteristic to each individual. In the third place, the most interesting and significant light was cast upon the lives and personalities of these men by the letters and opinions about them written by their acquaintances and other contemporaries.

As a result of the life abroad, certain definite effects of exile and travel are apparent in their writings, no less than in their characters. These effects, though present, are of such varying degrees of importance, that one wonders why the unusual experiences, which these writers underwent, were not more adequately reflected in their poetry. To account for this, one explanation is rather satisfactory. It may be supposed that poetry with these men was not a matter of vital, every day interest, but rather a pleasant and charming avocation resorted to in times of leisure for the personal entertainment of the writers or possibly of a group of their friends. If the

theory be true, one may suppose that, in turning to this form of amusement during the period of their privation and suffering upon the continent, and ever afterward, they would certainly not recapitulate in verse form what were daily repetitions of discouraging experiences. Rather, if they turned to poetry for consolation, they would write on themes of a lighter nature, which would tend to distract their attention from the depressing realities of the daily life about them.] Although this cannot be proved conclusively, there are yet several hints that the preceding theory is not implausible. These are found in slight allusions made by some of the writers:- John Denham in his "Epistle Dedicatory to the King" tells of an experience of his with Charles the First. Charles, having read some verses by Denham, told the poet that, "when men are young and have little else to do, they might vent the overflowings of their fancy that way, but when they were thought fit for more serious employments, if they still persisted in that course, it would look as if they minded not the way to any better."¹ Waller, in his prefatory verses to "Gondibert", speaks of D'Avenant, as one

"Who with the Muses^{h⁶¹²} mock those fates
Which threaten kgms. and disorder states."²

D'Avenant, himself, says, "Poesie was that harp of David, which remov'd from Saul the melancholy spirit, that put him in a continual remembrance of the revolution of empire."³ Such remarks,

1. John Denham, "Poems." Ed. 1684. "Epistle Dedicatory." p. II.
2. D'Avenant, "Poems." Ed. 1673. p. 28.
3. D'Avenant, "Works." Ed. 1673. p. 197.

though slight, are sufficiently alike in tone to imply that poetry was an interest of but secondary importance in the poets' lives and was usually resorted to for pleasure, or consolation. If this analysis be true, it is not at all suprising that the poets should fail to mention the experiences and sufferings, which for years were the constant discouragements of their life. It was but a natural human tendency to cast those worries as far away from thought as possible.

If their attitude toward poetry had been different, one may imagine what might have been. If Cowley, in the vein of his charming "Anacreontiques" had told of some of his gay life in the society of the lively exiles in Paris, what good reading it would have made. Even a series of poems, written in the Pindaric style, dealing with the sufferings of a homesick exile, eager to return to the father land, would not have been without its attractions.] If D'Avenant, instead of wasting hours of time upon his impossible "Gondibert", had felt the same interest in the varied and thrilling life of his party in its intrigues and wanderings, he might have written a much less turgid poem than he did. This would have been particularly the case, if he had filled such a poem with detailed pictures of the men of his day as they appeared in the presence of adversity, or if he had not only told his story, but had sprinkled it with human comments and revelations of thought, feeling, and personal character. If Denham, with his rich satiric vein, had seen the possibilities in his experiences, by working out a mock heroic epic, such as that later developed by Butler, how much more interesting it would have been, even though not great, than the present trivial poems about the trip to Poland

and Sir John Mennis's visit to a pig roasting. The real opportunity was lost by Waller. With his fine poetic sense, he should have been able to give little vignettes of charming lyrical value about his experiences in Italy. Even an unrestrained poetic portrayal of his own feelings as an exile would have been better than what he did write. If such poetry had been composed by these men, it might not have been great, but it would, at least, have been more appealing than the artificial and unemotional poems which they wrote; it would have had a note attracting human sympathy. In the failure of these poets to utilize their experiences, they probably lost an opportunity to enhance their fame.

As it is, because of their tendency to suppress their real feelings and experiences, much of their poetry has undoubtedly suffered. Being anxious to portray merely what was pleasant, or what would serve to draw their attention away from the sombre realities of life, they wrote much that was highly artificial and occasional in interest. For this reason, most of their poems, instead of throbbing with real human emotion, are filled with idle flattery to people, now but little known, or centered about incidents probably of importance at the time, but long since forgotten. This tendency toward the subjugation of real feelings during the period of their exile served to provide their poetry with elegance of expression without depth of thought, facility of manner, without any warmth, glowing color, or vibrant feeling. Because of the evident desire to withdraw from real elemental emotions into a world of unreality, freed from all unpleasantness, the poems resulting from their exile are unimportant as poetry. In the absence of true feeling, which would have given the poems an un-

iversal appeal, since human nature is in all ages fundamentally the same, there is present a frigidity and reserve which repels rather than attracts. It is this scarcity of true autobiographic expression, in which the mind is opened and the feelings of the heart poured out, that prevents much of the work of these poets from ever being more than ephemeral in interest.

The Influence of Exile and Foreign Travel

Upon the Cavalier Poets,

Cowley, D'avenant, Denham, and Waller.

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